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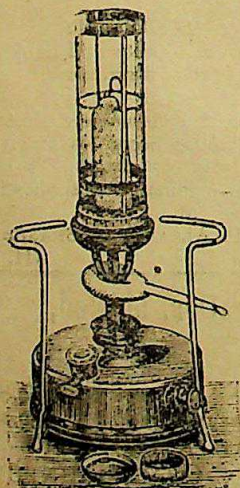
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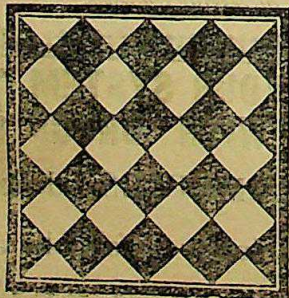
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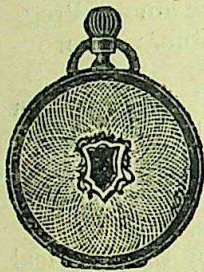
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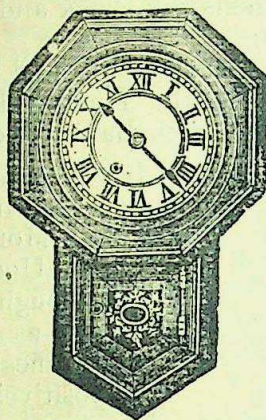
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I send a few lines to explain my appreciation of your clever reading of my life. You have told me much of the past most accurately. The predictions of the future will most probably happen and as the events come to pass I will tick them off as a pleasureable memento of your occult power.

M. BROOKE LEGGATE, Cubbon Hotel,
Bangalore.

I am glad that your predictions regarding my promotion, domestic felicity and birth of a child, have come to pass.

DURBHA SUBRAMANYA SARMA,
Accountant, Forest Branch,
Collector's Office, Nellore.

Your statement about my 35th year was quite right. I remember the year distinctly.

H. A. NANAVATHY,
Head Master, Gondal, Kathiawar.

In September last you sent me a trial reading of my horoscope of which one or two items had come to pass and were wonderfully accurate.

JHANDA SINGH UBEROI & SONS,
Manufacturers of Sporting Goods,
Sialkot City, Punjab.

As regards your answer to our query about our father's death it is true and I am pleased to see your right knowledge of the science.

BALMUKUND PURI,
Hall Gate, Chawk Puri, P.
Amritsar.

I am suffering from *sexual* disease as forecasted.

MURRIAN, TOUNGOO,
Burma.

Some time back I had a life chart of my own life from you and I was satisfied with you. Please send me a fuller reading of my own life for Rs. 10.

R. H. UMRIGAR,
Steamer Point, Aden.

A friend has spoken to me highly about you and your information as regards future judgment about horoscopes.

T. R. DESAI, B.A., LL.B.,
"Lawyer" Office, Bombay.

It would be out of place here to mention that a few months ago I brought from you a two-rupee horoscope. I am glad to say that your predictions have been found correct.

R. C. GHOSH,
c/o P. C. Ghosh,
Sub-Judge (Retired),
Berhampore, Bengal.

I came to know of your supernatural pre-eminence through my friends.

V. S. KUPPUSWAMI,
33, Rarangapini Sandhi Street,
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[H-34]

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THE UNTOUCHABLE CLASSES OF AN INDIAN CITY : THE ECONOMIC POSITION—II.

By Dr. Harold H. Mann.

THE joint family system touches the Mahars very little. As a rule, a husband when his wife takes up her abode with him, sets up a separate establishment. There are exceptions, but this is a general rule. This makes the economic position a little more easy to consider than would otherwise be the case. At the same time, among the really resident Mahars of Poona, it is most common, and apparently most desired, that a young couple should have their parents or one of them living with them. One of the older people can then do the housework, attend to the children, and so on, while both of the younger pair can go out to work and contribute to the family income.

The average earning per month, whether as wages in the ordinary sense or as casual earnings worked out as follows :—

Man ...	...	...	...	Rs. 9'9 per month.
Woman ...	...	...	...	" 4'1 ditto.
Child ...	...	...	...	" 9'1 ditto.

The high figure per child is accounted for by the very large proportion of big boys and young men included who can earn men's wages in the factories, on the railway, and in other occupations. The earnings per family amounted to Rs. 13'1 for a family of 3'7 persons. In one hundred families, there were found one hundred men, fifty women and twelve children, who contributed to the family income.

So much for data concerning the Mahars. Let us now turn to the next great caste, that of Mangs. These are in my experience the most squalid of all the groups with which I am at present dealing. They have no status in the community, and have hence far less self-respect than can usually be found among the Mahars. The greater part of them live under similar conditions to those already described for the more unfavourable section of the Mahars, though I know some *Mangwadas* which are well kept. Their houses are not dissimilar in construction to those of the Mahars, and do not need special description. Unlike the Mahars, the Mangs have a very general caste occupation, namely, the making of baskets, brooms, and ropes,—and this is work which the women do regularly in their spare time and so enter into the category of *earners*, although they do not leave home.

The number of families of Mangs dealt with in my figures was 526, and these contained 1,981 persons. The number of these definitely assisting in maintaining the households was 992, or 50 per cent. of the Mang population—a considerably greater proportion than among the Mahars. This is, of course, due to the prevalence of home occupations, as above indicated. Of these earners, 551 were classed as men, 351 as women, and 102 as children.

These were employed as follows :—

	Men.	Women.	Children.	Total.
Poona city Municipality (as street sweepers, coolies, &c.) ...	154	104	21	279
Factories ...	5	...	...	5
Railway ...	4	...	...	4
Domestic servants ...	105	8	6	119
Coolies ...	200	120	41	361
Miscellaneous... ..	92	122	17	231

In this case the '*miscellaneous*' includes the men, women, and children, to whom broom and basket making is a principal occupation,—and among the *Mangs* a large number of beggars.

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The average earning per month, including all these casual forms of income, worked out, according to the people's own statements, as follows :—

Man	...	...	Rs. 9'1 per month.
Woman	...	...	Rs. 3'8 ditto.
Child	...	...	Rs. 4'5 ditto.

Here the children, not being usually taken on the railway or in the mill, have much lower average earnings than was the case with the Mahars.

The earnings per family, however, amounted to Rs. 12'6 per month for a family of 3'8 persons. To obtain this there assisted, in one hundred families, one hundred men, seventy women, and twenty children.

The third caste with which I have to deal is that of the *Chambhars*, or leather workers. It occupies the highest social position of these untouchable groups, and on the whole is also in a better economic position. Fewer women take a share in the family earnings, and, on the whole, the children do not work so young. Many, if not most, of the caste work as their own masters and make boots and shoes.

The number of families, with which I am dealing, is 196, containing 798 individuals, of whom 273 shared in earning the family income, or only 34'2 per cent. These consisted of 238 men, 25 women and 10 children : this shows how completely the women have disappeared as an earning force.

The people were employed as follows :—

	Men.	Women.	Children.	Total.
Bootmaking, Leather work- ing, &c. ...	217	15	14	247
Factories ...	3	...	...	3
Railway ...	1	...	...	1
Domestic services ...	4	...	...	4
Coolies ...	4	8	4	16

The caste is essentially, therefore, a trading group,—almost the whole being engaged in their recognised occupation.

The average earnings per month among the *Chambhars* is a good deal more indefinite than among those previously dealt with,—as so large a proportion are their own employers. The figures given are, however, according to the people's own estimates, and I do not think they are very far from the truth. They appeared in the average as follows :—

Men	...	...	Rs. 10'5 per month.
Woman	...	...	Rs. 4'5 ditto.
Child	...	...	Rs. 4'3 ditto.

The income per family worked out at Rs. 13'6 per family of 4'1 persons. There was more trace of the joint family system here, for one hundred families contained 120 men, ten women, and five children, who assisted in producing the family income.

I shall say nothing of the *Dhors* or tanners, because they are represented in Poona by under a dozen families, and hence no useful general information can be drawn from their condition. Tanning in Poona is most largely done by Mahomedans.

The last social group with which I have to deal is that of the *Bhangis* or scavengers and removers of night soil. They are the lowest in the social scale, and are looked down upon by all the others. On the other hand, they are not by any means the lowest in comfort, in housing, or in independence. Their houses are usually well built and clean, and the people are far more permanent residents of Poona than are some of the previous classes.

Of these my records deal with one hundred families, containing a population of 373 souls. A larger proportion among them are wage-earners than in any previous case, simply because, as a rule, men, women, and children, as soon as they are old enough, all engage, morning and evening, in the recognised work of the caste. It is remarkable, too, that in this work the earnings of men and women are the same, and those of a working child almost as great. This is, perhaps, what would have been expected, for in their work, the employer pays for having the work done, and rarely looks to see who does it.

All the wage-earners (241 in 100 families) with whom my records deal were engaged in the work of the caste, eighty per cent. on behalf of the public authority, and the remainder for private parties. Their average earnings worked out as follows :—

Man	...	Rs. 7'7 per month.
Woman	...	Rs. 7'7 ditto.
Child	...	Rs. 5'6 ditto.

while the income per family reached the large total of Rs. 18'2 per month. The number of wage-earners per family is high, (2'4) as has already been noticed, and in 100 families there were 110 men, 110 women, and 27 children, engaged in gaining the family income.

Such are a few of the most obvious figures resulting from my inquiry. Let us now see what they mean at a cursory examination.

The first point which must strike any one who considers them is the very small families which are dealt with. In every case the actual number of people per family is below four, except in the case

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of the Chambhars when it just exceeds that figure. The actual figures are as follows :—

Mahars	...	...	3.7
Mangs	...	...	3.8
Chambhars	...	...	4.1
Bhangis	...	...	3.7

These figures are for the family which lives together as an economic unit, occupying one house. Taken in this sense it shows a somewhat astonishing, and certainly serious state of affairs. For it is obvious that when the average family numbers below *four*, the population must be diminishing. I have devoted a good deal of inquiry to find out the causes of this smallness of the family among the untouchable classes in Poona, but I can only here give the conclusions which I have reached. It is not, except incidentally, in my opinion, due to the fact that many of the people are wanderers, for it applies to a purely town caste like the *Bhangis* as well as to those who are constantly coming and going. Two factors seem to be dominant,—one the poor character of the housing, sanitary and water arrangements, the other to a very large infant mortality. The existence of the latter is a deduction, and I have not got any direct evidence of it. The fact of small families, of diminishing population, seems certain,—and forms a very difficult and yet insistent social problem in connection with the labouring classes of our Indian cities.

The second point concerns the family income. This according to my figures stands as follows :—

Number in family.			Family income.	Average of member.
			Rs.	Rs.
Mahars	...	3.7	13.1	3.5
Mangs	...	3.8	12.6	3.3
Chambhars	...	4.1	13.5	3.3
Bhangis	...	3.7	18.2	4.9

The income per family, of course, from some points of view, appears small, and is small really,—but it appears to represent a very considerable advance on the amount paid a very few years ago. In most cases (except the Chambhars) and most markedly among the Bhangis, it involves the regular wage earning of more than one member of the family, and the question at once arises as to how far it is adequate for the needs of the people under Indian conditions, and with the habits of the classes to which the people belong.

The question thus posed can only be answered by a consideration of the family budgets of a number of the classes to which we are referring,—and from them find out how the money is spent, how far it is adequate according to the people's own idea, and finally how far it is adequate according to a theoretical standard worked out elsewhere.

With some difficulty I have collected for Mahars alone a number of family budgets more or less complete, and more or less reliable. I cannot enter into the full discussion of these in the present paper, but I may summarise one of them which may be considered as typical.

The family in question consisted of seven persons,—an old man and woman, a young man and woman, and three children, of the latter aged respectively 10, 7, and 4 years. The old man was unfit to work and simply spent his time about the house, doing most of the necessary housework and attending to the children. The younger man was the principal wage-earner and was a mason. When working he obtained ten annas per day, but his work was irregular, and was considered on the average as simply extending to thirteen or fourteen days per month. The two women worked as coolies, and obtained on the average about 2 annas per day, or say Rs. 4 per month each. As their work and their earnings were irregular, this is probably a maximum. The children, of course, did no work,—nor did they go to school.

The total income of my typical family, therefore, counting thirty working days per month would not exceed as follows :

				Rs. as.
Man	...	...	...	9 13 per month.
Woman (1)	...	...	...	4 0 ditto.
Woman (2)	...	...	...	4 0 ditto.
				17 13 ditto.

This is equivalent to an annual income of 213 rupees, 12 annas, or say 214 rupees.

Against this have to be placed the expenses, which are given to me as follows. The house is their own, and no rent has to be paid :—

Food :—	Per month.	Per annum.
	Rs. as.	Rs. as.
Grain (bajri & rice)...	5 6	
Pulse ...	0 9	
Fish & flesh *	0 12	
Vegetables ...	0 3½	
Spices, chillies, &c....	0 10½	
Salt ...	0 2½	
Oil for cooking	0 3	
Tea ...	0 2	
Sugar ...	0 10	
Spirits & Toddy ...	1 12	
	10 6½	124 14

* In addition there were usually two meals per month of bullock's flesh received as a *watan* right consumed by men only.

		Per month.		Per annum.	
		Rs. as.		Rs. as.	
<i>Fuel :—</i>					
Kerosine oil	..	...	0 4		
Fuel (wood)	...	...	0 14		
			1 2	13	8
Tobacco	...	...	1 0	12	0
<i>Clothes :—</i>					
2 Men	...	...	...	13	6
2 Women	...	...	...	10	8
3 Children	...	...	...	5	14
Holidays	...	...	...	12	0
Religious rites	...	...	...	3	0
Interest *	...	...	...	13	0
Miscellaneous	...	...	...	12	0
Total ...				220	2

This shows then a nett balance against the family of about six rupees, which I understand is saved, if necessary, chiefly on the clothes bill.

To anyone accustomed to a consideration of humble Indian life, there is not much to comment on in this statement of account. The simplicity of the food, in which the price of grain is a dominant factor to an extent almost inconceivable elsewhere : the gradual introduction of tea as a luxury for very special occasions : the large amount of expenditure on sugar which is, nevertheless, I believe, one of the most economical parts of the expenditure : the absence of butter or *ghi* from the diet and its replacement purely by a vegetable oil,—these are all factors which may be regarded as almost universal. The large expenditure on alcoholic liquor is particularly noticeable, but known to exist among these castes, where the religious influence does not prohibit, though it discourages indulgence. The present is a very respectable family and, among such, only the men drink. A woman drinking, at least in public, is considered a disgrace. The indulgence in this liquor is the weakest economic factor in the budget, and makes what would otherwise be a fairly satisfactory economic position, into one which is certainly not satisfactory.

The remaining items call for little comment. The people considered the legitimate point for saving where this is necessary was in the provision for clothes. The amount put down is what is considered as requisite for proper clothing.

* On loan of Rs. 50 obtained some years ago.

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The interest is at the rate of 26 per cent. on Rs. 50, being an old debt contracted in the former years,—possibly, (though I do not know this) on the occasion of the younger man's marriage.

The general economic position of this family is not satisfactory, but this is caused almost entirely by debt and by drink. Otherwise the position would be far different, and saving would be not only possible but easy.

This may be considered as a fairly typical case among almost any of the classes with whom this paper deals, but is more characteristic of the Mahars than of any others. It illustrates very fairly the condition in which the vast proportion of the respectable members live.

Here I must stop. The data here presented are simply some of the first superficial results of my inquiry, and such as they are, deal with the economic aspect of the position of the people with whom I am dealing. Of their social position: of the disabilities under which they suffer: of the lack of education and the difficulty of obtaining it: of the devotion to drink which has done so much to keep these castes in a low position: of the institution of '*muralis*' or girls dedicated to various gods which has done much to lower the moral reputation of the castes,—of all these and a dozen other problems I cannot now speak, but must reserve my results for a future occasion.

THE CHINESE REVOLT: A SURVEY.

By Mr. Adachi Kinnosuke.

THE Chinese are no longer "bats in the night of absolutism." On May 8, 1911, an Imperial edict was issued. On the front pages of the newspapers on the following day, the world read of the birth of the first responsible cabinet in all the 4116 years of the life of China. It was a great step forward toward the constitutional state which was promised in the now historic edict of September 1, 1906.

The first National Assembly of China, under the name of the Tsung-yuan, was convoked on October 3, 1910. It did not do much that year, but only awfully rash people would say that it did nothing in October, 1911. Provincial Assemblies have been doing more or less effective work in making known the wishes of the people since they were called into existence on October 14, 1909. A constitution and a parliament were promised the people by the Empress Dowager; they were to have these institutions in 1916. Prince Chun, the Regent, in answer to the unanimous resolution of the National Assembly in October 22, 1910, advanced the date to 1913. He did so, not because the Manchu throne wished to hurry the matter, nor yet because the Prince Regent thought that the people of China were ready for the coming of the representative form of government. He did so simply because the throne wished to show to the people that it is not indifferent to their wishes.

From time immemorial China has been governed by an autocrat. The Emperor is assumed to be the "Son of Heaven," with unlimited power. The laws of the empire are laid down in the *Ta-ch'ing-hui-tien*, or "Collected Regulations of the Ch'ing Dynasty," which prescribe the government of the state, and declared that it is to be based upon the government of the family. In practice, the autocratic power of the Emperor is manifested by decrees, edicts and rescripts, which, unless they are of a sacred nature, are published daily in the *Peking Gazette*, the oldest newspaper in the world. There are a number of advisory boards, chief of which is the Grand Council, up to the present consisting of six members. The actual administrative work of the country has been carried on by the eighteen boards, which are, in order of precedence, those of Foreign Affairs, Commerce, Civil Office, Finance, Ceremonies, War, Laws, Communications, Interior, Education, Dependencies, Navy. The provinces are ruled by a vice-royal governor, who is responsible to the throne for the entire administration of his province. Each province is sub-divided into prefectures, ruled by prefects, a collection of two or more of which, called a *Tao*, are ruled by a *Taotai*. Such was the governmental system of China when the revolution began.

The people of China have never played so active a rôle in the administration of state as they are now permitted to do—never since the days when their philosopher Motse preached what might be called agricultural socialism. Why, then, in the name of all the restless ghosts of their ancestors—why this Chinese revolution? What is the meaning of the uprising? What do the Chinese want?

They want more than one thing, and some of their wants are elemental, basic.

II.

In the first place, they are empty of stomach; downright hungry, starved, and they want to eat. The many hundred millions of Chinese know that they have not squandered their gray lives in idleness. They have always worked in the past; they are willing to work; they do work. So they cannot blame themselves. The soil on which they have worked and are working is mostly rich and kind. It is true that during this year and the few years past, great floods and drought have cursed the land. But then, had the people been permitted to receive something of a fair share of the fruit of their toil, they know,—beasts of burden as most of them are,—that they could have gotten along very nicely without troubling either the yamen or the altars of their gods and ancestors. They are starving to-day, they and their women and children. That is a fact as big and clear as the heaven above and the earth on which they stand.

Now why—why this state of affairs? They have not been as keen and as fiery as some other people in raising the question, it is true. But they have raised it now. They have raised and answered it for some years past,—in fact, since the twenty-five year reign of Kiaking, in the dying days of the eighteenth century. And here is the answer: The people are without food and raiment, because in the China of to-day, graft, which is a gentle art in the rest of the world, has added unto itself the rigorous, heartless, systematic exactingness of a science. It has donned the robe of the official, it has turned itself into a tradition; it has exalted itself into a veritable law, walking about in the white light of day, head up and unashamed.

III.

The German managers of the Chinese mines at Wongchitong could deliver ore at the Hanyang Iron and Steel Works at one tael a ton, including all possible charges. The mandarin administrator of the mines charges three taels in his book. Lord Charles Beresford, who saw the proceeding, was not quite sure, in his polite mood, where on earth the two taels went. The people of China know. A number of factories in Hankow are financed and worked by the Chinese, but most of them are registered in the name of some foreign company. Why? "It is dread of official squeeze." What was the chief difficulty in building the Shanghai-

Hangchau railroad? One of its directors told Professor Ross that it was the harassing "inspections" which obliged them to bribe the officials.

There are well-informed people in America and Europe who think that the mineral wealth of China is left untouched because of the lack of native talent to develop it. Still we are told that there are thirty millionaires in the Malay State, all Chinese, who got their wealth from the mining enterprises in Perak and elsewhere. It is the official "squeeze" at the throat of industrial China that gives you the one correct answer. "The Chinese are not victims of the rapacity of their rulers," a recent American writer on China declares; "for if their government does little for them, it exacts little. With four times our numbers the national budget is a fifth of ours." Ah, yes, if only even one-tenth of the blood squeezed out of the anæmic turnips of unhappy China were represented in the budget! Where, then, does the nine-tenths of the taxes collected from the people go? Into the same old places and to line the private pockets of highly honourable officials, from the princes under the very shadow of the throne to the petty gate-keepers of a provincial yamen.

Beyond a doubt the unspeakable condition of the Chinese of to-day has not come altogether from "the crowding of population upon the means of subsistence." China, to-day, is the clearest demonstration of what a government at once weak and corrupt can do to a great race and a great country. In Africa and in some of the islands of the South Seas you may be able to buy human life for money. But I honestly doubt whether it could be bought as easily as in China. A Taotai objected to the efforts of charitable people in fighting a plague because there were "too many Chinese anyway." And he was not put in an asylum; he was considered rather sensible. In what other country can you find the fight for life so strong that people cannot afford a comfortable death by opium because the price of the drug has been raised, and now it costs a little over ten cents to get enough to commit suicide?

As you see, then, the present uprising in China is based upon the primitive desire of man for clearing away everything between his stomach and the food it so sorely needs.

Let me repeat that the Chinese are willing to work. They do work. The soil of their country gives them fair returns for their labour. With them every prospect pleases. Only the rottenness of official administration is vile. This brings us down to the second thing that the Chinese want.

IV.

They want to get rid of the Ta Tsing Dynasty now on the Peking throne. To add insult to injury, the present reigning house is not Chinese; it is Manchu. Naturally enough the real Chinese, the children of Han, as they are fond of calling themselves, do not wish to be under the yoke of a foreign conqueror. And such an unspeakable yoke it is. Moreover,

the humiliation doesn't become a bit more bearable when the Chinese know better than any one else, this fact, that there are not more than ten millions of Manchus all told to-day in the entire empire, and most of them are nothing but opium-smoking loafers who until very recently were supported by hereditary pensions from the Peking government—which they, the Chinese, have, of course, had to pay.

Then there is a new-born sentiment among the men of Young China. They call it Nationalism. It has been said often enough that the Chinese man does not know what patriotism means. This is an error. A Chinese, like a Japanese or an European, has been evolved through his tribal, clan, and provincial affiliations, till he found himself a citizen of an empire. It came to him first in the days of the Shihwangti of Tsin (255—208 B. C.), who gathered the warring fragments of feudal China under one strong central government and founded the Chinese Empire and fenced it in with the Eternal Wall. The patriotic sentiment of Canton coolies and laundry men around the corner may not seem to support this statement. It is, nevertheless, an historic fact.

V.

But the new Nationalism of Young China means something more than the love of the homeland which Shihwangti and his people knew. It is the awakening of a great race to the consciousness of a great heritage.

Despite the depth of mire and humiliation into which it has fallen, and in which it has slept its drugged sleep for well-nigh a hundred years, it is not in one or two spots only in the vast empire, this awakening. The new Nationalism surprises an English wanderer in the heart of Szechuan in the form of a "New China" student. A Chinese schoolboy in a back village in far Yunnan scribbles something in his copy-book. Evidently his idea is that Peking is entirely responsible for his slow progress in attaining light and learning,—an idea and expression quite enough to have his head cut off if read by a Manchu mandarin! It's practically universal, this new Nationalism of China, a little bitter, and a bit feverish and excited as it is very apt to be under the circumstances. And it is this that is hinting even to-day, to the Peking government, that the years it has seen on the throne since 1644 have been many—about enough, perhaps.

Here, then, we have at least two forces back of the uprising of the Chinese. His solicitude or his empty stomach and his love for the soil on which he lives. By far the most powerful drivers of human beings, these! Beside them, there are three other things which stand out head and shoulders above a thousand minor causes that had brought about the uprising:

From the days of the Opium War down to the occupation of the palaces of Peking's Forbidden City, foreign guns and foreign men have brought to light one thing—and they advertised it so dramati-

cally, so convincingly that even it broke through the moss-back Chinese complacency ;—that the Munchu government was bigger in pretensions than the people had any idea, and that in reality it was much weaker than they had dared to dream. The Chinese-Japanese war told Europe of the rise of a new Asiatic power. To the Chinese, it told a much more poignant tale of the utter helplessness of the Tsin Dynasty. Autocracy without armed might is the most fecund mother of rebellion, as even a schoolboy knows.

The wholesale gifts of concessions for almost everything, for railroad construction, mining, and trade privileges, and the free-handed extravagance in throwing away territories big enough to make ten empires of the size of Japan by those world-famed world-wise patriots of China, who know what was good for their own pockets much better than all that academic twaddle about the thin and uncommercial thing called glory and honour of the country, added scandal to the ill-smelling advertisement of the decay of the Peking government.

VI.

The third cause,—the first in importance,—was the reform measures of the late Emperor Kwanghsu. Although Her Majesty the late Empress Dowager, in her edict of March 14, 1889, bade farewell to regency and handed the administration over to the young Emperor, and although it was in the latter part of the month of September, 1898, that the Empress rode out of the Iho Park and into the Forbidden City and made the Emperor a palace prisoner, nevertheless, Kwanghsu reigned—really reigned—for about half year, up to September 20, 1898 ; actually for somewhat less than six months.

On June 11, the Emperor issued an edict. It was the first announcement of his reform measures. Two things which were closest to his heart, very naturally, came first of all—reform in the military and educational systems of the country. The edict ordered the establishment of a central university at Peking. The classic institution of “ literary essays,” as the basis for competitive examination official honours, was abolished. His majesty ordered different types of schools established at all the important centres through all the provinces. Temples, moreover, were to be turned into school-rooms for the study of western arts and sciences. The despatch of imperial commissioners to foreign countries for study ; the opening of a way for direct petitions to the throne from the people, also for criticisms of administration ; urging the speedy completion of the Peking-Hankow Railway ; the adoption of the Western arms and drills for Tartar troops ; the establishment of agricultural schools in all the provinces ; the introduction of patent and copyright laws, the institution of special rewards for inventors and authors ; ordering officials to assist trade and merchants ; the establishment of school boards in provinces as a preliminary step for the inauguration of a compulsory system of

education ; freedom of the press ; the establishment of naval academies and the building of training ships; of commercial bureaus for the encouragement of trade ; the abolition of no less than six Government Boards at Peking (which made the huge number of official parasites to rush to the Empress Dowager at Iho Park and beg her to return to power and save them) ; granting to the people the right to memorialize the throne not only directly but also in sealed documents (an unheard-of innovation) : the establishments of schools for sericulture and tea manufacturing ; postal efficiency ; the preparation of budgets after the western methods ; these were the chief burden of his imperial message.

It was an ambitious programme ; even astounding, read in the light of what had been. Still it was an extraordinary day that the Emperor and his beloved China were facing. Kang Yuwei was his trusted adviser. It looked for a brief time as though the fondest dreams of the Young China were about to be translated into living, breathing, golden facts.

Many writers on China say that with the return of the Dowager Empress to the Forbidden City on that famous September night, in 1908, all the dreams of the young Emperor died. They are wrong, utterly. The influences which the young Emperor's edicts on the younger generation of the Chinese—on the Young China of which the unhappy Emperor and his friend Kang Yuwei were the leaders—have not yet been charted or told.

If only Yuan Shih Kai had not turned traitor to his imperial master's trust on that fateful day ! If the young Emperor with his great dreams, with his heart on fire for China's glory that was in dust—if he had been allowed even five years of actual reign ! If the entangling of Fate's loose strings had been a bit kind to His Majesty, who can say that the history of China might not have written the name of Kwanghsu even as the historian of the New Nippon writes the august name of Mutsuhito ? There is a silly fashion among western writers to paint Emperor Kwanghsu as a weakling ! What could be bolder than his dreams, even as they were dreamed in the purple twilight of the Forbidden City ? It would be highly entertaining to see what Herculean deeds of daring all these typewriter-hanging and pencil-pushing critics of His Majesty would have done, had they been in the Emperor's shoes when the one trusted captain of his armed force, Yuan Shih Kai, betrayed him and went over with all his army to his enemy's camp ; when he found himself a prisoner guarded by assassins ! No progressive tendencies or labour on the part of Yuan since then can blot out his faithlessness. The years following the Empress Dowager's coup took it for granted that all the bitter toils of the young Emperor's ardent soul died out as the light in his then glassy eyes. Nothing of the sort was true, although none of the provisions of the edict, save that of the Peking University, were formally carried out. The pregnant edicts of the Emperor were more fruitful than the

seeds of martyrs. To-day, they are the creed of the revolutionary movement and of the Young China. A rather striking picture, it may be added, that this young Manchu prince should have given the anti-dynastic uprising the cardinal articles of faith.

VII.

The answer to the question—in a way—is simple and easy. They are the children of Han, the real Chinese, who dwell mostly in the Yangtse Valley and to the south of the river. Is it, then, true that the revolt at Hankow on the tenth of September, 1911, was backed by some three hundred million Chinese in all the southern provinces? Not quite, but very nearly so. For the uprising in China is distinctly of the people.

This same democratic note has marked the story of Chinese revolts since the days of the Taiping. Almost all their uprisings have been anti-dynastic. And from the Taiping to the Yunnan revolt of 1910, the leaders of the movements did not count for much. In most cases, the revolutionists did not have any leader. The Taiping revolt was headed by an epileptic fanatic who thought himself, aye, publicly called himself, the "Younger Brother of Jesus Christ," surrounded by a lot of disreputable adventurers at once as astute and superstitious as himself.

Even so it succeeded, succeeded enormously. It took sixteen out of the eighteen provinces of China proper and six hundred cities, according to the memorial of the famous Tseng Kuofan, who with "Chinese" Gordon suppressed it at last. Why? Certainly not because of the ability and worth of the leaders of the movement. It was clearly because the people were but too eager to back almost anything; because they could not think of a worse state of affairs than those under the Manchu administration. The same was true of the Kwangsi disturbance of 1908 and of those in Yunnan. In April of last year a handful of unarmed and half-starved wretches took the capital of Hunan—the historic city of Changsha which, by the by, the Taiping in their boastful days found it so hard to conquer. There were thousands of provincial soldiers stationed at Changsha, then; and all they did was to run and not only run, but, in running, they were thoughtful enough to unbuckle their cartridge belts and drop their modern rifles so that the rebels could have proper weapons. The disturbance at Canton in February, 1910, was a repetition of the same melodrama.

There was one thing that was rather striking and quite new in the way the present revolt was inaugurated at Wuchang on September 10, 1911. Mark you, there was no rebel leader that led his devoted followers to the attack and capture of Wuchang. Thirty-two revolutionists were arrested in the capital city of Hupe; four of the number were beheaded in front of the viceroy's yamen. Then the troops rose and went over to the rebels. Did their general or their commander lead the soldiers when

they joined the cause of the revolutionists? Not at all. General Li Yuanheng has been the acknowledged leader of the revolutionists at Wuchang. His letter to Admiral Sah tells how he came to be at the head of the uprising. It throws a light on the nature of the revolutionary movement at once picturesque, sensational, all illuminating. Remember, he was the commanding officer of the Chinese Imperial forces stationed at Wuchang. When his men rose, the general says, he tried to escape. He was captured by his own men. Then they forced him to take the lead. He had no other choice. Since then, he has come to find out that the revolutionary party is of one mind from the lowest to the highest. He decided to share fortune with them because he thinks—and rightly, too,—that it is better to belong to a united party than to a disunited one.

The most serious feature—that is to say, the most dangerous element to the Peking government in the present uprising is the attitude of the fighting men of China to-day; the men, not the best soldiers in the world, as every one knows, still the best fighting material that China commands. In the Kwangsi revolt of August, 1908, 1,000 soldiers mutinied at Konghau and joined the rebels; in the Canton affair of February, 1910, no less than 6,000 soldiers were reported to have joined the rebels. We have seen what the men of the Imperial army at the capital of Hunan did in the Changsha affair of April, 1910; at Chengtu, the capital of Szechuan, in September of this year, the soldiers refused to obey orders from the government officers, and while they did not take an active part in fighting Viceroy Chao, they certainly gave the revolutionists their moral support. In the present crisis, mutiny among the government forces is the nightmare to the imperial commanders.

The student class of Young China—more especially those who have studied abroad—is among the noisiest and most enthusiastic of the revolutionists. It is unwise to speak lightly of them. For out of this class will come many a Chinese Gambetta and Ito. They are the martyrs and apostles of the New China to come. At Tokyo, since the Chinese war, we have had from three to twenty thousand students every year at various schools. They have come and gone back to their homes in the eighteen provinces and practically every mother's son of them is a cheerful, reckless, vociferous, flaming torch for the revolutionary movement.

Add to the above list the countless unspeakables whom the two great commanders of mortals, Famine and Flood, have marshalled under the banner of discontent, and you have the personnel of the revolutionists in China in this year of grace, 1911.

VIII.

The tragedy is staged in Central China and the South. He who follows the greatest stream of the Asian continent, the Yangtse, along its 3,200 miles of wandering through the heart of the empire, from "the"

Roof of the World" to the Pacific, will be rewarded with a glimpse of a valley as fertile as any in the world, covering the area of 650,000 square miles. One hundred and eighty odd million people live upon it. Ask any one the two questions : Where is the Garden of China ? And where is her empire province ? He will have but one answer for you.—Szechuan. You can pick out a Szechuanese in a thousand by the way he dresses, so the Chinese will tell you. So rich is the province reputed to be among the Middle-Country men. And Szechuan covers the north-eastern part of the valley. The Province of Hunan is in the centre of it : "If only Hunan be fruitful," is a saying so old that no one knows who said it first or when, "the Under-Heaven will be plentiful." And Changsha, the capital of this province, passed into the hands of the revolutionists on October 23. The city became famous in the days of the Taiping. The rebels besieged it for eighty days and failed to take it. From this city came Tseng Kuofan, who took Nanking from the rebels and ended the rebellion. And since his day the viceroyalty of Nanking has always been given to a Hunanese. In heathen China the memory of a great achievement is not forgotten as quickly as in civilized states.

Wuchang, the present base of the revolutionary movement, is the capital of Hupeh. Together with the two other cities of Hankow and Hangyang, clustering there where the Han River pays her tributes to the Yangtse, the three cities form the Chicago of China. They are the distributing centre for all the provinces of Central China. With its annual trade of about 130,000,000 taels, Hankow is only second to Shanghai ; as the industrial and manufacturing centre, the "congeries of cities" easily outranks any other in the empire. Hankow alone has more than forty factories built on modern lines.

IX.

On lower Yangtse, the great cities of Kiukiang, Chinkinng, Suchan, Wuhu, and Nanking were reported on October 28, 1911, to be in open sympathy for the revolutionary control. Even Shanghai (captured by the rebels last month) was said to be hot with anti-dynastic sentiments. They are the trade and social centres of Anhwei, Kiangsu and Kiangsi. To the men of Chinese streets, Suchau has the only rival in Paradise and to the venerable Dr. Martin, she is "the Paris of the Far East." Nanking, whose name means the southern capital, is the city of even greater historical prestige than rival Peking, the northern capital. The Viceroy of Nanking is the immediate overlord of the three Governors of Anhwei, of Kiangsu and of Kiangsi. Naturally he ranks among the most important officials in the empire. It was the capital of the empire in the soaring days of Chu Yuenchang, the founder of the Ming dynasty. Her glories, like the memories of her places and her wares, are largely of yesterday. Even so, there are about a quarter of million people in the city, with its arsenal and military college. It was in this historic city that the first

national exposition after western fashion was held. These three provinces under the Nanking viceroy at the lower reaches of the Yangtse cover over 162,890 square miles of area, supporting over 64 millions of people. And they seem a bit impatient for the coming of the victorious rebels. To the south, of the Pacific seaboard, Canton and Amoy are showing all the signs of restlessness as if they are afraid that some one might accuse them of the death of their time-honoured anti-Manchu spirit. The remote hills of Yunnan and of Mahomedan Kangsu, as well as the ancient capital city of the Manchu themselves in Manchuria, seem to be echoing the slogan raised by the Young China at Wuchang.

And what of the future? There are two paths before China. If the moderates win, then we shall see a constitutional state with parliament and a responsible cabinet. Both the constitution and the immediate convocation of the parliament after the British pattern, have been granted by the edict of October 30, 1911. And a mere band of 6,000 soldiers at Lanchau will pass into history as the father of the first limited monarchy in China. If they fail and the radicals win, why, then we shall be treated to something really new under the sun—a republic on the classic soil of the most ancient empires existent to-day.

SIR HENRY COTTON ON LORD MORLEY.

By "Indophilus."

MOST interesting in Sir Henry Cotton's *Indian and Home Memories* are the sketches of men with whom he consorted and the measures with which he was associated during his four years in Parliament. His regularity in attendance put many a younger member to shame. Like the labour members, he was in Parliament for a purpose; and it is not surprising to find that his associations with that party were of the most intimate and friendly character. But perhaps the pen-picture which will appeal the most to Indian readers is the portrait which he draws of Lord Morley. He writes :

Like all other liberals, I came into the House with an almost idolatrous admiration for John Morley's services to the liberal cause, and I shared the feeling which prevailed in India that at last a good time was coming, when grievances would be redressed and an end of contentment, such as had not been known since Lord Ripon's day, would follow. The shock was, therefore, all the greater when it was found that he was absolutely in the hands of the permanent officials of the Indian Office as his predecessors had been before him. . . . The truth is that he was overwhelmed by the unexpected character of the problems that beset him and the magnitude and complexity of conflicting interests to which he had never before devoted a day's attention. He was not prepared to be confronted in the House of Commons by half a dozen members, sitting below the gangway as his own supporters who were each and all of them experts in their own sphere, and ready enough to tender their advice, which was almost invariably antagonistic to that of his own permanent officials. And yet it was always a marvel to me that he should so easily have surrendered all discretion and abandoned the principles of a life-time. It was pitiful to see him while he was in the House, dodging us in the Lobbies and avoiding interviews when he could, and shrinking from any personal explanation away from the Front Bench, where he was always well primed with official replies. And he must have found it very painful himself, as an old and stalwart liberal member of the House of Commons, to hear his recantations invariably cheered from the opposition Benches, amid the depressing silence of his own followers. Although it came as another shock, I can hardly say it was a surprise when we heard that Honest John Morley, the *dulce decus ad* or "*endem or mend'em*" of our young days, had preferred to become a Viscount and moved to the serener atmosphere of the House of Lords.

If we may say so, Sir Henry in particular no less than Indian opinion in general, expected too much from Lord Morley. Mr. Hyndman and Mr. Wilfrid Blunt who have been close students of his temperament, have had no hesitation in placing it upon record that he behaved at the India Office exactly as they supposed he would do. In his "Secret History of the English Occupation of Egypt", Mr. Blunt recalls how when Morley was editor of the *Pall Mall Gazette* in 1881, his correspondent at Cairo was Sir Auckland Colvin "and it so happened that when the crisis came in the spring he was found "one of the strongest advocate of violent measures for the suppression of liberty." As Chief Secretary of Ireland he was equally amenable to bureaucratic influences.

In the interesting account of Mr. John Redmond in Mr. Gardiner's "*Prophets, Priests and Kings*," we find the Irish leader refusing to admit that Mr.

Balfour was wholly bad as Chief Secretary. "The worst Chief Secretary was—" and (says Mr. Gardiner) he mentions a name that fills one with surprise. It is not hard to supply the omission.

Writing in the London "*Tribune*" as long ago as January, 1807, a Nationalist member of Parliament thus summed up Lord Morley's tenure of power at Dublin Castle: "Mr. John Morley's administrative career was not wholly a success, because he still kept hoping against hope that he could placate the Ulster Tory. The thing cannot be done, for of all the political eccentricities in the world, the Ulster Tory has no counterpart." The Nationalist M. P. was wrong in supposing that the Ulster Tory has no counterpart. Simla is full of them, and Lord Morley fell into the same mistake with regard to them as he did at Dublin. He seems never to have done what this Irishman declared he would do if he were Chief Secretary:—

If I were Chief Secretary, I would give liberal ideals a chance. Having convinced myself of the influences of any course, I should not allow any understrapper to turn one aside by the phrase "it can't be done." My reply would be equally brief, "it must be done."

This is not Lord Morley's meaning and Mr. Gardiner (in the book to which reference has already been made) saw this plainly enough. Everywhere in his sketch of the ex-Indian Secretary, the editor of the "*Daily News*" places an unerring finger in the weak joint in the armour.

Lord Morley belongs to the past. . . . He is not a pioneer. He points to no far horizons. He stands icily aloof from all the eager aspirations of the new time... . He murmurs "Impatient idealists," and is still. For reward he has incurred that subtlest of rebukes, the praises of the "*Spectator*." The world of politics is a world of action, of quick resolves, and firm and sudden movement. To hesitate is to be lost. Lord Morley has the hesitation of the man of thought. . . . In his deepest contemplative eye and indeterminate chin you see the man who inspires others to lofty purpose, rather than the man of action. . . . In a set speech, face to face with a great issue, he sounds a note of moral greatness, austere and pure, that is heard from no other lips to-day. But in the presence of a situation calling for immediate and drastic action from himself, he is like Hamlet: "The time is out of joint, O, cursed spite. That ever I was born to set it right." It is this perplexity of the will, so characteristic of the philosopher in affairs, that is the secret of Lord Morley's admiration for Mr. Chamberlain, for we all admire most that which we have not. He sees in him the quality of decisive action at its highest. Mr. Chamberlain never doubts, never hesitates. . . . He knows that the thing the people love in a leader is swift decision dramatic action. "Right or wrong, act!" Lord Morley, lost in reflection, weighing all the delicately-balanced factors, sees with wonder the whirlwind go by.

It seems like a jest of fate, says Mr. Gardiner, that the irony of events should have placed upon this preacher of political liberty the burden of despotic control over a vast subject people, dimly struggling towards freedom—a jest to show how far the stern moralist, the foe of the "reason of State," can resist the assaults of circumstance and entrenched officialdom.

In the two concluding chapters of his book, Sir Henry Cotton sets himself to the task of showing how first Lord Curzon, and then after him Lord Morley, failed in their administration of India. Nothing but prize can be accorded to the admirable sketch which is given of Indian history from October 16, 1905—

that memorable day upon which the Partition of Bengal was effected. It is shown beyond all cavil that the root of all the troubles of recent years lies in that monumental error—described by Lord MacDonnell in the House of Lords as the greatest political blunder since the Government of Bengal passed into English hands at the battle of Plassey. When Lord Morley took over charge of the India in December, 1905, he had a golden opportunity ready to hand. The Partition was of a couple of months old, the Viceroyalty had passed out of the hands of Lord Curzon, and the heart of India, as Mr. Gokhale put it in his Presidential address at the Benares Congress that Christmas was “hoping and yet trembling as it had never hoped or trembled before.”

A Liberal Cabinet (writes Sir Henry Cotton) did not hesitate to grasp the matter in South Africa, and achieve there a success which posterity will point to as the greatest administrative triumph of the Empire since the restoration of peace to Canada. There was an equal, if not greater chance, ready to Lord Morley's hand in India. We, the Indian group of members in the House of Commons, depicted it to him in glowing colours. We might charm never so nicely, but he would not hearken. The iron was hot, but he would not strike. The precious moments slipped by, and there was nothing done. When I was pressing him in the House on as early a date as February 25, 1906, Lord Morley admitted that the Partition of Bengal “was and remains undoubtedly an administrative operation which went wholly and decisively against the wishes of most of the people concerned.” But it was “a settled fact.” Therefore no action could be taken. “India should now be allowed to take breath, and we should move very slowly.” These were the commonplaces he had learnt from the permanent officials in the India Office, who had lived all their lives like the ostrich, with their heads buried in the sand. In the meantime, the hour glass had run out.

There follows a graphic summary of the events which culminated in the resignation of Sir Bampfylde Fuller, and the deportations first of Lala Lajpat Rai and then of the nine Bengalis, whose crime it was that they were strong supporters of the Swadeshi movement. A merciless comparison is made of the manner in which Lord Morley condoned and even defended the deportation of Lala Lajpat Rai, and the frenzy of indignation with which he assailed the similar treatment of an English journalist in South Africa during the Boer war. We give the passage in full :

In connection with Lajpat Rai's case the following supplementary questions and answers are recorded in Hansaw of the 11th June, 1907 :

SIR HENRY COTTON asked the right hon. gentleman whether he had any information in his hands to confirm the statement he made last Thursday to the effect that the speeches of Lajpat Rai were very greatly dominated by sedition, and that they were published broadcast even on the floor of the House.

MR. MORLEY : I must really ask my hon. friend to accept it from me that I am very unlikely to make statements on the floor of this House without having provided myself with fair and reasonable confirmation.

SIR HENRY COTTON : Will the right hon. gentleman lay the facts of the case on the table of the House ?

MR. MORLEY : I think anything more injudicious from the point of view of Government and law and order than that which the hon. gentleman suggests, cannot be imagined.

Lord Morley's replies were received as usual, with opposition cheers. As for me, I could only sit in silence : but I recalled to my mind the words used by John Morley in the House on the 24th April, 1902, on the occasion of the arbitrary detention of a certain

Mr. Cartwright at Capetown. The official reason given by Mr. Secretary Brodrick for that detention was : "Mr. Cartwright's views are anti-British, and it is not deemed desirable by the authorities in South Africa to increase the number of people in this country who disseminate anti-British propaganda." Dissatisfied with the answers he received, Mr. Morley moved the adjournment of the House. During the debate he characterized Mr. Brodrick's reply as "the most outrageous and indefensible answer ever given within these walls since Simon de Montfort invented Parliament," and in the course of his speech he applied the following adjectives—illegal, unconstitutional, tyrannical, and arbitrary, impudently absurd, and preposterous to the action of Government in detaining a man "for some other reasons which they do not disclose." Such is the difference between a liberal leader in opposition, and the same man when placed in due course as a Minister on the Government Front Bench ! The charges made against Lajpat Rai in the House of Commons have since been deleted by Lord Morley from his speeches. It was impossible to substantiate them.

Passing on to another phase of the campaign of repression. Details are given by Sir Henry of the ferocious sentences passed in so many "sedition" cases. "I brought nearly all the cases I have enumerated to the notice of the Secretary of State," writes Sir Henry Cotton, "but in not a single instance, however savage and vindictive the sentence might be, was the clemency of the crown invoked." He goes on to describe how the tension of public opinion broke all bounds at the Surat Congress, how sporadic outrages began to disfigure the face of the country, and how the official panic which resulted found expression in a series of repressive measures : and how these have been succeeded by another series of damaging exposures of police methods in sensational "conspiracy" cases. Of the reforms Sir Henry writes approvingly but not enthusiastically. He notes its defects, which are familiar to every Indian, and regrets that it should have been handicapped from the start by the fact that the angel of conciliation was set to work in concert with the angel of repression. The few concluding pages are devoted to a brief recapitulation of the principles which have actuated Sir Henry Cotton's Indian policy.

I was in the House of Commons to advocate liberal principles everywhere and in everything. I was there to vindicate the elementary principles of freedom of speech and the indefeasible right of British subjects to be heard in their defence before being sent to prison. I was there to protest against the infliction of cruel penalties upon political offenders. I was there to support what Mr. Gladstone had once declared to be the duty of a liberal government—"the systematic enlargement of the liberties of the Indian people. It is needless to say that this was an unpopular attitude to assume... Some there were whose moral sense sank so low as to have deliberately to associate my name with murderers and assassins.

Indians will need from Sir Henry no such vindication of the work he has done for them. But they will note with melancholy that to espouse their cause is in the minds of certain Englishmen, to be "unpatriotic, disloyal, and seditious." Their consolation must be that the friends of Ireland are similarly bounded, and that truth is eternal and will ultimately prevail in India, as it is prevailing in Ireland.

Sir Henry is bound to admit that he looks back on the period during which a liberal government has been in power "with a profound realization of the disappointment which has ground itself into the heart of a people who had been accustomed to associate with liberalism the broad and sympathetic temper of Ripon." But he declines to despair and welcomes the new departure in Indian politics which men are learning to attribute to the sagacity of Lord Ripon. He pleads for the marking of the approaching visit of the King by the redress of grievances—above all a modification of the Partition of Bengal and a general amnesty to political offenders. "If the King's Proclamation breathes a new spirit in official policy and infuses a new hope and new life among the people, all will be well." Let us lay down this deeply interesting and stimulating book with congratulations to the author that his closing prophecy has been fulfilled to the letter.

FEMALE EDUCATION IN INDIA: A SUGGESTION FOR ITS IMPROVEMENT.

By Mr. R. Rajam Aiyar.

IN this paper I propose to examine how far female education has progressed in India and to offer a suggestion as to how it can be done better. It must be stated at the outset that the subject of female education has been discussed threadbare by many an expert social reformer, and yet it is not generally known why despite the efforts of some of these good men India has not progressed much in the matter.

At the present stage of Indian society—a society in which the woman is not the equal of her husband, is not in the same position in the social scale, is much secluded from her husband and is not allowed even the interchange of thought as there are so many obstacles in her way, or as a Bengali gentleman put it, “she can only see her husband when the whole house is asleep and with the lark must bid him adieu”—at this stage of her society and with such small occasion for talk with her sole companion on earth, how is it possible, if she is not literate before she enters her husband's home, to gain any literacy even where the husband is a “degreed” man.

But one can say ‘can she not be educated while in her father's house.’ This, too, is impossible in many cases. The conservatism of the parents is the chief cause; the secular education that is imparted in the schools is another; the fear of proselytism is the third; and early marriage is the fourth and the greatest. Before the girl is able to understand alphabets of her language—Vernacular and not English—she is a wife. After that she hardly attends any public school. We do not here advocate that the girl should attend a public place of instruction even after she is of age. We only mean to say that the little education she picks up while she is young, is smothered up in her new surroundings as she is early transferred to her husband's house.

It is, therefore, necessary that her little knowledge should be developed by external aids—such as the zenana system of education, choice easy books in the vernacular being placed at her disposal, and the frequent company of her “lord.” But educated or uneducated men are at present afraid of the scourge of the old lady at home and do not like to offend her feelings even when they

know that it is wrong. This silent sympathy for the movement has been a standing obstacle in the way of its success. And, however, much the reformers may denounce the social evils in public, they are only puppets at home and timid before the grand-daddy. Besides, till the "fatalist" theory loses its hold on the people and till they understand that they are themselves the cause of whatever their daughters suffer, India's future is not bright.

It is not now generally known how many fathers to avoid the scandals of marrying the girls after they attained puberty, perform it when they are too young. The girls are not sometimes aware of the ceremonies through which they pass, nor do they recognise the importance and the sacredness attached to them. They are even afraid of glancing at the "boy-husbands" for fear of being mocked; nor is any opportunity vouchsafed to them in their parents' home or in their husbands'. They are thus brought up ignorant of the nature of their "lords" and every time their individual features grow irrespective of how they may affect those of their husbands. In short, there is nothing common between the husband and the wife owing to several causes—illiteracy, want of company and absence of mutual sympathy and responsibility. And there is nothing to cement their 'tie' in the intervening period, the period of marriage and that of consummation.

It is, therefore, necessary that the parent should exercise his or her discretion in the choice of the son-in-law. They should not throw away their daughters into the hands of a boy-husband unaware of his responsibilities and unable to support her or bereft of education. With a little care now bestowed many an unhappy marriage might be averted and many a union will be crowned with success and the world itself untold of the tale of woe.

I shall now examine how far the female education whose benefits are manifold and whose praise has been sung so often by every reformer, has progressed. The latest census of 1901 says that in this presidency only seven out of a hundred women are literate, and not one in a thousand literate in English. This is also the case with other presidencies, though the percentage may slightly vary but not appreciably. Besides this low percentage there are yet towns without one literate woman—literate in English or well conversant with the vernaculars. The fact that the Maharani's College at Mysore during the last twenty-five years of its existence, with its liberal endowments and scholarships, did not

attract much attention from high class ladies, shows that here husbands as well as parents are contended with the illiteracy of their wives and their daughters.

When this is the case, what social phillippies by our heartless Demosthenases who declaim against a thousand sins in others, but do not mortify one sin in themselves, who are more industrious in pulpits than in closets and who preach twenty sermons to other than one to themselves, will avail. Of course, there are many earnest reformers who are doing their level best to raise the present position of the daughters of this land of Bharata and to them all honour is due.

The men having failed to create any interest in women for study and for organized work or to ensure better progress among them, I think something better might be done if the question should be taken up by women themselves. For the chances in the way of the woman reformers are greater than with male ones. Therefore it is desirable that the enlightened women of India of whom there are many at present—they can lead with safety—should take up the question of the education of their sisters, and it is the bounden duty of the men to supply them with the sinews of war where necessary. And with the impetus given to female education by the despatch of the Government of India on education during the time of Lord Curzon, it may not be difficult to achieve much success. Many new primary schools may be started by 'private' enterprise supplemented by Government grants, and local bodies may be approached to maintain model schools for girls. But it is necessary that the teachers should, as far as possible, be women. Manned by their own class, the girls will resort to public schools without fear or social odium. If not, better or greater encouragement to zenana education must come forth. By selecting proper teachers the objection against the system can be set aside, and if denominational text-books are used, secularization will not crop up, but you cannot avoid the multiplicity of text-books.

Even here, men have to come to the rescue of the woman reformer, to break old ties, put by old rules, introduce new ones, and lastly, to infuse "the new spirit." If they have any chivalry for women, any consideration for them more than for their chattels and goods, much might have been done by now. Their indifference in the past has been the ruin of many, and unless India wakes up to her new conditions, her future cannot be

bright—the women always in the dark, her position weak and helpless or as John Murdoch says, she will be a bird without a wing.

Once roused, women will not lack the means of lighting the lamp of life; they only require direction, and if they combine, there is sure to be elevation—elevation in a liberal sense. The sisters can approach each other in platforms, in social gatherings and in debating clubs, exchange thoughts, write to magazines conducted by themselves, their views, and thus enlighten one another. Such magazines are *Womanhood* in England, the *Indian Ladies' Magazine* in India.

What intelligent mothers and intellectual companions these girls will make, it is hardly necessary to recount; what good help-mates and conscious wives they will become, it is unnecessary to dilate. Without the intelligent woman, as Howitt says :—

Fire may be shining bright,
Yet may be without delight.

How difficult it is to break the dismal dual scene without being intellectual and intelligent, Mrs. Ellins has well expressed and I therefore produce it below without any apology. "I am inclined to think that a married woman possessing all these—personal service, handiwork, and domestic management and even beauty too, yet wanting conversation might become weary, stale and flat and unprofitable in the estimation of her husband and might drive him from home by the leaden weight of uncompanionable society, and this in proportion to the estimate we form of real society and companionship. Stoford Brooke in his "Tennyson" says to the same effect thus :—One is the equal half of the other; the halves are diverse for ever, each complements each—both united in diversity make the perfect humanity. Their work must be together in difference. This can be done well only when the woman is properly educated. Unless there is mutual appreciation, there can be nothing common between the pair, when the "first love" has faded, to keep them together and they can't lead the life of—

.....two souls softly spanned
With one over-arching heaven of smiles and sighs.

The nature of the work which women may advantageously take up, I shall only mention by the way. Any of the following occupations is suitable :—Sewing, lace, philque work, embroidery, midwifery, nursing, painting and drawing. The one good effect

of all these accomplishments will be to stimulate the man to do better work and to lift him up above petty cares and anxieties.

But progress on the lines suggested may not be palpable at once, and as we all know that rougher stones are smoothened by constant abersions and rustiest bits of iron become bright, when well shaken together, it is hoped that the elevation of women will result from combination and continued agitation. It is a platitude now to state how much India will benefit by her intellectual daughters and how far "the habits of the slave, the sin of emptiness, gossip and spite and slander, will disappear in our women."

In concluding this paper I desire to state that the suggestion that women should come forward to lift their sisters from their present social condition is due to their innate abilities to cope with all obstacles in the pursuit of their will better than men. And this fact has been recognised by no less an authority than Mr. Frederick Harrison in his book "Realities and Ideals", and I have much pleasure in quoting the passage for the edification of your readers.

"In qualities of constant movement, in perseverance, in passive endurance, in rapidity of change, in keenness of pursuit (up to a certain range and within a given time), in adaptability, agility and elasticity and nature, in industriousness, in love of creating rather than destroying, in being busy rather than idle, in dealing with the minute surroundings of comfort, grace and conscience, it is a commonplace to acknowledge women to be superiors."

INDIA AS A DEPENDENCY.

By Mr. P. Chinaswami Chetti, B. A., B. L.

"This week London has been enormously excited by the Imperial Press Conference. But I was rather struck by the extraordinarily small attention, almost amounting to nothing, that was given to the Dominion that you here are concerned with."—(Lord MORLEY at Oxford).

INDIA has been from an early date regarded as a Dependency. 'Dependency' is defined by Webster as "a territory remote from the kingdom or state to which it belongs, but subject to its dominion"; and 'dependent' is defined as follows:—"Relying on or subject to, something else for support; not able to exist or sustain itself, or to perform anything, without the will or power, or aid of something else."

I.

When we speak of India, we call it a Dependency: and when we speak of other parts of the Empire we style them generally Colonies. The difference between a Colony and a Dependency has been, from time to time, exhibited by the fact that India has had no place in many of those International Conferences or Congresses held in England or elsewhere. When the Colonial ministers assembled in London during the Diamond Jubilee of the late Queen-Empress, or at the Coronation of the late King-Emperor, Edward VII, and when they conferred together on matters affecting the Empire, India was unrepresented, or its interests were merged in those of England.

The treatment then which India has received upto date, is that of a Minor in the Councils of the Elders. Because it is not of age, it could not be expected to enter into their deliberations. The position is really anomalous, considering the importance of India to England. But yet it has been so. India is not yet regarded as having become a major so to say, to enable it to equally participate in the rights of full citizenship like any other colony of England, be it small or great.

Realising the position of India to be that of a minor, it necessarily needs the protection of a strong hand, and that strong hand is to be found in the British control of India ever since it came into their possession.

II.

The question then arises how long is this pupilage to continue? What is the length of the tutelage? Differences of opinion have arisen about these points. Some of the thoughtful consider that we have arrived at a stage in the political education of our country, when we can be safely trusted to do more and that we can be permitted to fill up "posts of

authority and power" in our own country after a century and a half of tuition. While yet others say the "Indians have had the privilege of tuition under the best possible instructors, though the time has been terribly short for the purpose of efficient training. (150 years is a 'terribly short period'!) But the best instructor must of necessity be the keenest critic." *The Madras Times*, 12th June 1909). Necessarily so and I fear not the Indians will acquit themselves very creditably if only they are put in more responsible posts.

In considering the question of tuition, the best possible pupil are those who have progressed in education, gained experience and learnt the lessons of responsibility. India has, without doubt, produced very many persons of brilliant capacities, men of character, of high moral courage, integrity and of much administrative capacity. If an opportunity is not given them to distinguish themselves at the proper time, all that they have acquired become rusty and useless. If, on the other hand, the teacher says that the pupil has not advanced sufficiently and if, on the other, the pupil retorts that he has progressed well and that he may be tested by an examination in public life, the fault lies more heavily upon the teacher in not permitting the pupil to appear for the examination. That is the point of view from which we must view the question. A child does not all at once rise up and walk from its swaddling clothes. It thumps and bumps and catches this and that before it can steady itself to walk. Nor does a good hand acquired without much trouble and waste of several copy books. Self-confidence is a thing that can be attained only after several trials. The thing is to put him into posts of authority and trust (and the few individual instances of men who have been so raised have proved their fitness) as early as the pupil had gained experience, etc. Otherwise, you make him a 'dependent' throughout his natural life.

The question of dependency, of the fiduciary relationship, characterises every action of the Government with respect to the people committed to its charge, of which I shall give a few illustrations later.

Much of the bitterness over the reforms has arisen from the fact that interested people want to make India always a Dependency. What the future has in store for India is a matter upon which I do not now wish to speculate.

The fact of the dependency of India—the state of tutelage in which it is—necessarily presupposes that the trustee or tutor should look to the affairs of the dependent and that the dependent should look to his master for the initiation of almost everything on the minor's behalf. When this aspect of the question is clearly understood, it becomes clear that the initiation has to be taken in all large matters by the government itself. I remember to have seen in some newspaper rather a disparaging statement about the Indian looking to the government for everything. From the very position in which India is placed, it does appear nothing strange. It flows from the very nature of things—authority and dependence.

III.

Let me now turn to another aspect of the same question. The position of India being a Dependency, is analagous to the position of a junior member of a Hindu joint family. In such a family the head or *kurta* does everything for the junior members composing it. He has the control of the purse and spends according to his wishes and whims, sometimes overriding the wishes of the junior members of his family. For everything, small or great, the others look only to the manager or *kurta*. Where a family consists of several—minors let us suppose—everything depends upon the head himself. Where they are majors, he, as it were, is the chairman of a Committee. If he is a sensible man, he goes by the general opinion. But if he is the chief breadwinner, he does not generally consult the rest, but sometimes sets them and their opinions at naught.

Where education had not advanced so much as now, the head of the family exercised unlimited powers. But, now he is more and more being questioned day by day by the other members. That is the position now of the majority of the joint families. In very many cases these frictions lead to partitions. So to say, the joint family is being eaten into and its citadel mercilessly assailed on all sides. That is the tendency of the progressive times. In most cases, the power exercised by a head and the respect and dignity which he had merited before, are crumbling to dust now, and each junior member is asserting his independence at the earliest possible opportunity for reasons too numerous to mention. "The spread of education, the growing intercommunion between the East and West and the infiltration among the educated classes of the Indian people of (Western) ideas" have been the main instruments which have brought about the results to be seen in almost every joint family throughout India where education has played some part. "The movement of progressive societies," remarks Sir Henry Maine, "has been uniform in one respect: throughout its course we have everywhere to trace the growth of individual obligation, and the substitution of the individual for the group of the unit of which the civil laws take account."

To give only a single concrete instance of this tendency of the modern times, so far as Madras is concerned, I need hardly remind the reader that some years back the late Sir V. Bashyam Aiyangar brought in the Gains of Learning Bill which, in the end, was vetoed by Sir Arthur Havelock, the then Governor of Madras. The Bill was in keeping with the spirit of the times, but the move was a little too early: and in consequence there was much opposition to the principle of the Bill.

I need no longer labour the point to those who understand the state of affairs. It will be no wonder that in course of time the joint family system as understood at present and formerly, will become an archaic

institution, though there is nothing to prevent all living together each contributing his mite for the maintenance of all, in his individual capacity. The joint family system has served its purpose and is now found wanting to cope with the newer ideas. "The *Mitakshara* joint family, substantive and adjective, offers no inducement to any enterprise, but acts as a powerful brake." ("Reform of Hindu Law", *The Madras Times*, 21st April, 1909.)

IV.

Of late, it will be observed, there is a tendency for men of enterprise to separate and set up distinct homes. These generally by their brains prosper in the world, which is, a source of envy to the other members of his former joint family. As a result, law suits for partitions of property which has been enlarged or augmented by the family property, are the outcome. In the majority of cases the law courts decide such questions on principles of equity and good conscience and the slightest loophole is taken advantage of to dismiss such frivolous suits. Perhaps, in almost every such case, it is the non-earning members that are jealous of the prosperity of the other, and it is they that rush into Courts. This is but another indication of the times.

The analogy has been explained sufficiently clearly. The point is that even among the Hindus—the educated classes—the joint family system, or the state of dependency, is being questioned after a certain stage has been reached.

The next form of joint family which is to be seen prevalent now-a-days is that each member contributed something to the maintenance of the family. This principle savours of partnership. "The commercial enterprise of Natukoti Chetties of this Presidency was due to their own ideas of the legal relationships of the members of their family which resembled more a partnership than a Brahmin joint family." (Ibid.) The peculiarity of this is that each member had a voice and each regarded himself entitled to a definite and particular share in the joint family trade.

The tendency of modern times is to be observed from the changing of the Hindu joint family proper in some cases (but not in all) into a partnership. Each man's separate property is his own. There are very important and far-reaching differences between the two sets of circumstances.

The argument so far developed is that even among the Hindu joint family system, the tendency is from jointness to partnership or separation. While the country is a dependency still, "the old bonds of society have been loosened; old forces are becoming extinct; whole classes have been swept away, and new classes have arisen." (Pp. 7-8 of *Social Evolution*). But the recent reforms, if liberally worked, will have a tendency to make the Indians partners with the Englishmen in the government of the country. That is only in accordance with the spirit of the age. "The principle of partnership must find gradual expression in the constitutional

forms which govern and reflect the various processes of political life. It is the genius of the British race to evolve its forms in gradual harmony with facts ; and if the foundations of partnership are well and truly laid, there is little need to fear lest a fitting constitutional structure should not rise upon them in due course." (London *Times*, 24th May, 1909, 'The *Empire* in 1901.')

V.

The next stage in the case of a Hindu joint family is independence—each becoming a unit. It will, no doubt, take some time. India then has to pass to that stage—become a State, a Colony, or a federated state whatever it is, from its present position of a dependency, "when Chinamen and the nations of Hindustan are represented by fleets in the European seas, invited to international conferences, and welcomed as allies in the quarrels of the civilized world. The citizens of these countries will then be taken up into the social relations of the white races, will throng the English turf, or the salons of Paris, and will be admitted to inter-marriage" (Pearson's "National Life and Character," pages 89.90.)

It has been the case hitherto that "extraordinarily small attention was given to India almost amounting to nothing." But in the case of an independent state, however small it may be, or a British Colony, but possessing a less amount of mineral wealth, natural resources, population and even the number of educated men, it is possible for the people of that state or colony to be invited to any International Conferences, politics, or in anything, or Colonial Conferences or Congresses. Whereas in the case of India the same rule is made inapplicable notwithstanding the fact that it has all those requisites in a greater degree except one. The whole reasoning will be found to be based upon the fact that India is a Dependency, and in consequence it is not invited. A minor's voice is little heeded in the Councils and deliberations of the elders.

VI.

Let me now turn to explain the influence that is being unconsciously exercised in almost all matters connected with India, resulting directly from the fact of regarding India as a Dependency.

In the Presidency of Madras, at any rate, there is a common complaint made from time to time in the Anglo-Indian newspapers that the District Municipalities, District Boards and even the Corporation of Madras have not worked well and much capital has been made out therefrom against representative institutions in general. It is said *ad nauseum* that representative institutions have not proved a success so far, to encourage further reforms in that direction and so on. "There is no useful purpose to be gained in clamouring constantly for the extension of the home rule principle when such opportunities as are at present available are not made use of." (The *Madras Times*, 3rd July, 1909.) But the

writers seem to overlook the fact that there is much of government interference in all these, and the duly constituted bodies are not given a free hand in matters which concern them most. "The present constitution of our mofussil Municipalities and many of the provisions of the present Municipal Act, are not calculated to strengthen the sense of responsibility in those who take part in Municipal administration. In many cases responsibility is thrown on them without power. They have to submit to dictation from many quarters; different departments control their actions and the chairman is made powerless before the secretary." (*Leader, The Indian Patriot*, 1st July, 1909.) More often it happens that the government runs counter to the expressed wishes of those bodies and gives a short shrift to their well-intentioned resolutions. Recently the Commissioners for the City of Madras by their resolution of the 7th December, 1908, desired that more power should be given them so that they could have a better control over the affairs of the Corporation; and those who have read the order of Government in question would remember the fact that the Government was of opinion that no legislative extension of their powers was needed. Here is an instance in which the opinion of the duly constituted body of representatives of Madras differs from that of the Government, and yet the representatives have been duly appointed to guard the interests of the citizens of Madras!

To show that I am not exaggerating in the least, I shall here quote the material portions of the G. O. No. 838 M., dated 24th May, 1900:—"16. The Corporation in its Resolution of the 7th December, 1908, urges that the Madras City Municipal Act should be amended so as to give Corporation some control in the appointment and dismissal of its subordinates other than referred to in Sections 9 and 12 of the Act. The proposals of the Corporation in this respect would involve legislation, and the Government doubt whether so large an encroachment as is suggested, upon the authority of the President is advisable."

The archives of the several municipalities and elective bodies and our own Corporation could furnish any number of instances in which their expressed wishes have been vetoed.

Now, if the opinions of such duly constituted bodies be set at nought or overridden by orders passed from time to time, necessarily it follows that these representatives take little or no interest in matters civic and begin to think that it is far better to echo the sentiments of the official who sits in the chair for the time being without giving full play to their independent opinions and reasons. This, in process of time, tends to a certain amount of apathy or indifference in matters civic and a desire to be always in the good graces of the person—generally a government official. In other words, they follow the line of least resistance.

But let these representatives be given a free hand in matters in which they are the best judges, and let their opinions be respected in all possible

cases with little or no interference, see what a surprising amount of progress is made in an incredibly short period and what a lively interest is taken. As the interference of the government becomes less and less and as the opinions and expressions of the representatives are respected more and more, they will recognize that they have a duty to perform to themselves and to their country, and in consequence, some of the ablest men will come up. But now those that seek representation are men generally who care more for the bauble reputation with an eye on something greater.

Owing to this fact, it is no wonder that the remark is widely circulated that even the smallest particle of representative institutions has not proved a success so far. A similar analogy is applicable to the working of the several bodies in and around Madras.

All the above arises from the fact that the government officials or the government can think better than the actual representatives in matters which concern them most—an unconscious feeling arising from the state of India being a Dependency.

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EDUCATION IN AFGHANISTAN.

By "Durrani"

NOTHING seems more absurd or ridiculous in these days of universal progress and enlightenment than an attempt to dwell further on the importance of education to mankind. It is a self-evident truth that if there is the least chance of a salmon living on land or, to be more explicit, for a Greenland whale to lead an existence on the rocky peaks of mighty Himalaya, the boiler of human progress and advancement was possible to be worked with a fuel other than learning and education which in this case the posterity of Adam and Eve could do without perfect equanimity. But is it not still more strange to hear that notwithstanding its indispensability in the progress of human society and its being the only agent of advancement, education is still regarded in majority of the Eastern countries as a luxury to be indulged in by the rich and a sin for the lower and middle classes even to dream of. Men not content with the malevolent treatment of education to this extent go further as to ignore it thoroughly declaring it quite unnecessary—nay an abominable crime and a national disgrace. This order of things mostly prevails in Mahomedan countries where ignorance and fanaticism is rampant, where progressive teaching of Islam is suppressed while metaphors and allegorical passages of Al-Koran being taken in the literal sense are displayed as mainstay of the Faith and war and bloodshed are advertised as the only thing which man is to live for and die for. I, however, hold the opinion that no man is more liable to be called a traitor to his religion, country and people than one who endeavours to conceal the evils of his country merely to uphold the adage that it is a disgrace for you to "wash your dirty linens in public." Let the dirt be always washed in public for no other reward but to convince the world that dirt is washed once for all and that they have no right hereafter to call it dirty. I, as an act of patriotism, drag my country Afghanistan in the arena of the civilised world in order to point out its defects in broad day-light with a genuine hope of getting a helping hand to remove its dirt and have it rigged out in the latest fashioned dress of refinement. Let us drop the metaphor and plainly assert that unfortunately the "God granted Kingdom of Afghanistan" is one of the countries, as we have defined above, ailing under gross ignorance and flagrant misinterpretation of religion.

Among many other qualities left undeveloped in the Afghan his thirst for knowledge is undeveloped and unevolved. Unfortunately the only idea the world forms when the word Afghan is uttered is that he is the best butcher of mankind, a reckless hero ready to give a life and take a life able to face extreme hardships with unrivalled fortitude and vigour; and at best he is a credit to the rank and file of any great army of the world after having received the foreign polish of discipline and training. Beyond this he is dreaded as merciless brigand and the last man to be relied upon. It is not now that he is reckoned as such, he was treated with similar remarks by his ancient masters the Moghul and the Persian invaders of Hindustan minus what is talked of as a "treacherous" fellow—a credit for which some solitary instance during the

First Anglo-Afghan War of 1838-42 are mainly responsible. Afghanistan was regarded by its former rulers whether Tartar, Moghul or Persian as a "mine of soldiers" from where they could replenish their army whose ranks often grew thin, for fresh inroads on the sunny plains of India. As such, the Afghans have always satisfied their leaders having distinguished themselves on the famous battlefields. Such being the case, the rulers of the land hardly took the trouble to cultivate any science or art, nor have they been at pains to draw out the Afghan propensity for learning. These people have been left to flourish in semi-savage condition and live in a happy-go-lucky manner for generations past, and the blessings of education have never been bestowed on them. Not even during the "imperial days" of Delhi when the Afghans were owing their allegiance to the Moghul Emperors, and that city had become the recognised centre of arts and learning the descendants of Tamerlane wilfully withheld the rays of culture to penetrate beyond the stupendous walls of the Suliman range which separates Afghanistan from the Indian Empire. A trip of a few weeks would convince any traveller that education has been neglected for centuries together as not a vestige of ancient college or educational institution relieves his eyes in that country as it does in Persia, Samarkand and Herat. The last named city, though a part and parcel of Afghanistan, formerly it formed the choicest realm of the Persian and Uzbek Empires, and was famous as a seat of learning during the reign of Sultan Hussine Mirza.

As a rule, independence is a nut-shell in which is contained the whole sea of national life and advancement in all its phases, yet unfortunately it never brought with it an era of enlightenment and progress to the Afghans when they first shook off the foreign yoke in 1747 under the leadership of Ahmed Shah Durrani. The descendants of that national champion had their minds too full of the lust of foreign conquest family strife and palace intrigues to be able to think of educating their subjects. So, during the whole time that the house of Saddozai held royal sway over Afghanistan, nothing whatever was done to lift the veil of ignorance. Though in 1842 the throne of Kabul changed hands with the restoration of Amir Dost Mohamed as the first Barakzai monarch, yet the change of dynasty hardly meant the advent of the time for national education. But for a short while during the early days of Dost's reign when Afghanistan was ruled as a federated kingdom, Kandhar produced some well-known doctors of learning who were accorded unusual honours and influential seats in the court of Sirdar Kohundal Khan, the governor of that province. They were encouraged in their intellectual pursuits and liberally maintained by the local government. But unfortunately the progressive policy of the intelligent Kohundel was not followed by Dost who, after the demise of the former prince, incorporated Kandahar to the central government at Kabul and left the seed sown by him to run to waste and die out in course of a very short time.

Again a very long period passed by when Amir Sher Ali after meeting Lord Mayo at Umballa in 1869, inaugurated in Afghanistan a system of military training and education on English lines. Of Sher Ali, Colonel Hanna writes in his well-known work the "Second Afghan War, Vol. I", how the Amir's eyes being opened by his journey to India, he evinced a marked inclination towards throwing the doors of the sacred shrine of education and progress ajar for the advantage of his subjects. "Within his tranquilised dominions" says Hanna, "the restored sovereign sought to put into

practice some of the lessons his journey to India had taught him. Travelling through the Punjab, a province which only twenty years before had been in that condition of semi-barbarism out of which Afghanistan still showed no sign of emerging his eyes had been opened to possibilities of prosperity, peace and order, such as he had never dreamed of; and the desire to conduct his government on more civilised principles and to lift his people to a *higher level of comfort and humanity* thus awakened in his heart, he lost no time in trying to realise." Just after his return to the capital of his kingdom, Amir Sner Ali Khan took immediate steps to put his army in order, introduced printed books on strategy and military training, which he ordered to be translated from English. He opened schools for the training of the officers in the science and the art of war. These institutions, if continued and improved upon, would, in the long run, have grown into admirable military academies. No doubt it was military education which mostly absorbed his attention, yet the proper success of his undertaking in this line would have been quickly followed by a wider field of educational activity in the country. Though at the outset rapid and marked progress attended Amir Sher Ali's attempts, yet the current of the national renaissance was soon to be stemmed by the unfortunate events, both domestic and foreign, which characterised the last few years of that Amir's reign. The reign of Amir Yakub Khan, Sher Ali's successor, was too short to have attempted anything in this direction which could be said to have been fruitful or fruitless in any way for his Afghan subjects. Thus it will be seen that it is the long reign of Abdul Rahman alone which may be sifted with any prospect of ascertaining whether a step was taken by that ruler in the way of educating his people. He himself openly confesses in his autobiography that when he came to throne "there was no typewriting or printing press throughout the whole dominion of Afghanistan, and education was so neglected that I had to advertise all over the country for thirty clerks who could read and write their own language. I could, however, find only three to fulfil these two conditions." However, Abdul Rahman's pretensions of having enabled 'thousands' of his subjects 'to read and write' and many similar claims of spread of education in Afghanistan during his rule should be accepted with reserve. For if the late Amir had done so much towards the mental advancement of his subjects, there is no reason to believe why such advancements neither bore any tangible fruit nor did it survive the close of his career. There is little evidence to prove his having done anything in the direction of introducing Western sciences and arts in Afghanistan save an arms factory at Kabul which was started by Sir Salter Pyne and few other subordinate European engineers. This achievement which among other things is held out as a proof of Abdul Rahman's "greatness" can safely be compared to the Kashmir state workshop at Sirinagar. However, we cannot forbear from giving Abdul Rahman a credit for making a beginning, no matter howsoever small it has been. Nothing could bear more eloquent testimony to Abdul Rahman's great desire for educating his people than the passage in his biography, in which he recognises its vital importance to his nation and has advised his successors. We cannot resist the temptation of reproducing it here *verbatim*:—"If the subjects are learned and wise", writes Abdul Rahman "the statesmen and minister of the kingdom who steer the ship of state are better fitted being taken from the ranks of the subjects and being inspired by the people. The education of our subject, therefore, is the matter of greatest importance in the future. In that future Afghanistan can-

not make full and complete progress unless its women are educated ; the children take their first and primary lessons from their mothers and thoughts and ideas imbibed in childhood influence their characters and thoughts throughout the whole of their lives and take a firmer hold upon the roots of the minds than any after education can ever do. It was owing to this wise policy that our Holy Prophet commanded that women who, under no circumstances, ever leave their houses without the consent and permission of their husbands, should be allowed to do so for this one purpose, that of education.

If the masses of the people and their wives and womankind are educated, the statesmen who are drawn from the people and selected by the people are sure to be better judges, better informed, better advised and better able to carry out the administration of the kingdom, for an educated and civilised government is unsuitable for an uncivilised people who can only be ruled by stern and rigorous martial laws."

We cannot blame Amir Abdul Rahman for not acting on his resolution in this direction notwithstanding his so high conception of education, as he was too much absorbed in setting his own house in order and to remove the ruining influences which had come into existence prior to his accession. It may be said that so far as the education of his country was concerned, Abdul Rahman only made a start leaving the accomplishment of the whole task to his son and successor.

Such is the general outline of the growth of education in Afghanistan in the past, and now we proceed to show how this important national problem is fairing in the hands of the present Majesty of Kabul and what are its prospects in future.

When Habibullah ascended the throne of Kabul bequeathed to him by his father on the 3rd October, 1901, the prospects of education loomed large and exceptionally bright on the national horizon of Afghanistan. This ruler intelligently followed in his father's footsteps and showed at first unmistakable signs of his earnest desire to gratify the ambitions left unrealised by his father and to pose himself as a champion of national enlightenment in the annals of his country. He soon set to work on the proper lines. After his accession when the usual ceremonies which attend the succession of the royalties were over, *i. e.*, early in 1904, Habibullah, in order to carry out his educational scheme, sent for five Mahomedan graduates from Lahore to undertake the task of imparting to the sons of Afghan Sirdars and notables the Western education in a college which he intended to found at Kabul for that purpose. However, hardly the so-called college been started when the fanatical ecclesiastics, that horde of misinterpreters of religion, the fountain-head of superstition and bigotry, the cardinal cause of the backwardness of Islam began to denounce their ruler's educational policy both from the pulpit and in the society calling Habibullah's endeavours as means of "infidelising" Moslems. The new ruler not being a proof against religious agitation and opposition of the *Mullahs* who could have roused the ignorant masses against him, he soon gave way concluding "peace with honour" with that strong faction and ultimately had to dismiss the recently imported teachers to their country. Thus Habibullah's first attempt toward educating his subjects met with utter failure. Though outwardly he declared to have unconditionally surrendered to the

Mullahs' wishes, the Amir was loth to depart at heart from the policy upon whose promotion only, as his father had pointed out, rested the true greatness of Afghanistan. So he was on the look out for a suitable moment to renew his efforts. At last he found in one Dr. Abdul Ghani, B. A., an energetic youngman a co-worker in that sacred cause. The Doctor threw himself whole-heartedly into the work entrusted to him and gave shape to Amir Habib-ullah's scheme of education. As soon as the fanatical storm subsided in course of time, Habib-ullah with renewed energy put his shoulder to the wheel in order to lift his country from out of the mire of ignorance and superstition. To prevent his scheme from being again attacked by the *Mullahs* he summoned a large number of them in an open Durbar, and having mooted the point with them won them over so far that they sanctioned the erection of a college and other minor educational institutions for the benefit of the young Afghan generation declaring that there was nothing in the tenets of Islam to prohibit such measures and urging besides that Theology should be made compulsory and form the basis of all other education in Afghanistan. The Amir assented to their counter proposal and opened a high school at Kabul under the most high sounding title of "Royal Habibia University." Though too much was said of this modest educational institution in the columns of the Indian press, yet it was only intended to qualify the Afghan boys up to the Entrance standard of the Indian Universities. As late as the year 1907, we heard the following significant piece of news through an Anglo-Indian paper as to the educational activity in Afghanistan :—

"Dr Abdul Ghani, B. A., Director of Public Instruction in Afghanistan is at present occupied in establishing schools throughout Kabul which he has divided for educational purposes into more than 40 districts, each having a Lower Primary school. Out of these Lower Primary schools more than 20 Upper Primary schools, from the latter 5 Middle schools are to be evolved, which in due course will contribute to form 2 High schools in Kabul besides the Habibia College which will then work up to the M. A. standard. Three years hence schools will be established on similar lines in the large provincial towns. Among the metropolitan schools, by the way, there will be one Hindu school. The educational scheme has already been sanctioned by the Amir which provides also for the establishment of a translation office under the auspices of the Habibia University. The scheme also includes industrial instruction in Technical schools under the University. A medical school will be opened in April next and steps will be taken to translate suitable European medical books into Persian. A special class is to be started to prepare promising young Afghans for study of various branches of education in the West and in Japan whither they will be sent at first at the expense of State. Theology is compulsory in the arts faculty right up to B. A. standard. English is one of the foreign languages to be taught in the schools, but is optional. Minerology is another of the subjects mentioned in the scheme, and an engineering class for mining will soon be established. The fine arts is not omitted. Already a painting class was at work under the Amir's own painter and this has now been amalgamated with the University."

This news was directly corroborated by His Kabul Majesty's own oration at the M. A.-O. College, Aligarh, on the memorable 16th January, 1907. His speech really opens quite a new era in the history of education in Afghanistan, inasmuch as it was delivered before a gathering of intellectual representatives

of the Indian Moslems and in the leading Mahomedan educational institution in which he set forth his own policy of education with regard to his subjects. It will not be amiss to quote here a portion of that speech.

"There is, I am told", said the Amir, "a violent prejudice among many Indian Mahomedans against that particular kind of education which we call European education. What folly is this? Listen to me? I stand here as the advocate of Western learning. So far from thinking it an evil I have founded in Afghanistan a college called Habibia College after my own name where European education is to be given, as far as possible, on European lines. What do I insist on, however, is that religious education should come first. Religious education is the foundation on which all other forms of education must rest. If you cut away the foundation the superstructure will surely topple over. I say to you, therefore, be ever careful to make the religious training of the students your first and foremost care. This all essential condition have imposed upon my college in Afghanistan, and I hope it will ever be strictly maintained there. But subject to this condition, I say again, that I am a sincere friend and well-wisher of Western education. And now having spoken in praise of this college, I should like to do something practical to assist it. But the educational claims of my own subjects are heavy and the educational grants in Afghanistan are small. However, I have determined to endow this college with an income of Rs. 6,000 per annum in perpetuity. In addition I make an immediate cash present to the college of Rs. 20,000."

To the most who for years had urged the introduction of Western education in Afghanistan this speech seemed to assure an unlooked for success, when the ruler of the country stood as "the advocate of Western learning." But despair had to resume its position soon and to hunt out the hope which had for an instance gained the upper hand. No sooner the Amir was back to his isolated country than all these seemingly praiseworthy schemes which, as a result of his experiences during his trip to India, he took as an invaluable present to his Afghan subjects scattered to the winds, and ignorance had to be allowed to prevail as heretofore. The machinery of enlightenment confided to the care of Dr. Abdul Ghani, B. A., slowed down soon after the Amir set foot in Kabul. But why it so happened, is a question which only those having knowledge of the mysterious ways of the Court of Kabul could answer. A complete stand-still, however, was not announced until after the arrest and incarceration of Abdul Ghani for his alleged implication in a plot to poison the Amir and other prominent members of the royal house. All schemes of education were totally suspended after that event, and the party which looked askance towards Abdul Ghani's activities availed themselves of this opportunity to instil on Habibullah's mind the danger that the importment of Western education was tantamount to placing in the long run of restrictions over his own despotic powers, the curtailment of his sovereign rights and the ultimate demand by his subject for constitutional government on Turkish lines, "a day for which contingency" as was observed "may never dawn and against which the holy apostle Mohammed and his four companions protect the land of Afghanistan."

So it was that the poor infant of education which was receiving but a scanty nourishment at the hands of enterprising Abdul Ghani was, after the

latter was flung into prison, after the time-honoured custom of administering justice in Afghanistan, was gagged on its innocent pillow.

After observing the history of education in Afghanistan we are inevitably led to interrogate, "Is there any prospect of its renovation in the future? and then what are the most convenient and suitable ways of conducting it?" These are the questions which only the authorities on the subject could answer; but suggestions have their own justification in these days of enlightenment when every useful hint is eagerly sought and carefully sifted in all its bearings. What further encourages us is that it is not questioned whether the suggestion comes from an "authority" or a "student." The idea of an indigenous agitation by the people of Afghanistan in favour of education could be dispensed with. It only remains to be seen how far is the ruler prepared to give effect to feasible scheme on the subject. The first and foremost point in any scheme to be adopted with success, it is necessary to satisfy the caprice and fanatical susceptibilities of the priesthood of the country. This done, the rest will meet with little difficulty. Mullah's assent being the only avenue by which success into this undertaking could be attained. With Mullahs standing as sponsors of learning we may proceed to discuss the details of the scheme which may be introduced with advantage. It would be a folly to import as some maintain a foreign system of education in its entirety, and introduce it in Afghanistan. Such a course would be disastrous as experience has already proved.

The Abdul Ghani scheme had the chief defect of being too much in favour of planting a foreign university lock, stock, and barrel without regard to the peculiar susceptibilities and requirement of the Afghans in Afghanistan. Any scheme to be adopted in future should be one that may suit the taste and temper of the people and be adapted to their peculiar needs and conditions. The Amir who has already introduced, for the amelioration of his subjects so many civilising agencies such as metalled roads, bridges, workshops, telephone and motor service to facilitate communication will, no doubt, have to undertake again the task of educating his people. Then the onerous duty of keeping these considerations in view as we have referred to, will devolve on his advisers on this point. The future progress and independence of Afghanistan rests on education, education requires money, saving of money needs thorough financial reform conducted on modern lines under the eagle eye of an expert foreigner.

Let us for a moment consider what the immediate educational needs of Afghanistan for which she could count on her income and resources as they stand at present leaving the question of the future severely alone.

Though the word Afghanistan usually brings an association of being a country whose inhabitants profess one faith, talk one language and whose ideas, feelings, customs and requirements are one and the same, yet Afghanistan of to-day is composed of four principal divisions or provinces, *viz.*, Kabul, Kandhar, Herat and Afghan-Turkistan, each one of these four parts being inhabited by four different nationalities, speaking four different dialects, having different feelings and customs though professing one religion. Kabul is mostly populated by a conglomeration of Afghan warlike tribes which the historians allege, mostly migrated from the basin of the Indus and the skirts

of the Suliman range on the Indian side and settled in and around Kabul. They speak a language which though called Pushto as much as the language spoken by the people of Kandhar, yet it has a different vocabulary, different pronunciation, and many of its words are borrowed and corrupted in the course of time from Sanskrit. As for the inhabitants of Kandhar they hail as the aborigines of the country and their language which is recognised as the standard language among the Pushto speaking people is a mixture of the ancient tongue spoken in the country and that of Persian the *lingua-franka* of the Middle East. The Heirates are the descendants of Turkoman and Persians who by intermarriages and lapse of time have grown into a distinct people. These speak Persian with admixture of Turkoman Turkish with Persian accent. Then come the inhabitants of Afghan-Turkistan who belong to the same stock as their brethren living in Russian territory on the right bank of the Oxus. They speak Turkish of Bukhara.

So in chalking out new plans of education in Afganistan it should not be lost sight of that each of these four principal divisions should be furnished with separate university of its own with different standards and curricula adapted to their respective requirements. Considering the want of funds and other difficulties we may start with one University at Kabul to which may be affiliated the Kandhar institutions and another at Herat with educational bodies in Afghan-Turkistan attached to it.

Among many difficulties which the Afghan ruler will have to encounter in framing his educational policy one is the want of a competent staff to carry out the instructions of the students. To import them from Europe, Japan or America, is too costly an undertaking for the comparative famished treasury of Afghanistan. So it will be more practicable at present to get Indian Moslem teachers qualified at the Indian Universities at quarter the expense and trouble of getting them from Europe or America. Besides, it will be highly improbable for a European, Japanese or an American to accept service in lands so little known in their country, where according to their calculations there is no security of life and property. These considerations still more enhance the difficulties in the way of establishing well-equipped Universities.

The greatest drawback in Afghan character is his want of sustained enterprise and practical disbelief in the law of evolution. According to his opinion let the great things be done finished in a day or else never. It should be borne in mind that any effort made in the direction of education in Afghanistan should, as a rule, start from the Primary standard, and in course of time be allowed to develop into the Middle and High departments, while ostentatious schemes of establishing colleges and universities on a grand scale may be kept in abeyance for the present. By degrees as the nation accepts and tolerates the minor institutions the bigger ones may take their place in due time. The cheapest and most suitable way of procuring qualified teachers to conduct such elementary schools will be to engage Pushto-speaking men of the British subjects brought up in Indian colleges who, with the assent of the Indian Government, will be prepared to accept responsible service under the Amir's Government. Such persons will be best fitted for the task having identical mode of life, and same feelings, professing the same faith and speaking the same tongue as their brethren beyond the North-West Frontier of the Indian Empire. While discussing these facts, I am reminded of an interesting interview I had had some

times before with a gentleman from Peshawar who, so he stated, was specially sent for by the Amir to be consulted on the projected scheme of education. He was asked to draw up an elaborate report as what steps were to be taken to send on state expense, boys from Afghanistan to receive higher education in different branches in Europe and America. The alleged report was tendered after six months' continuous labour and study of the question. The chief suggestion contained in the report was that as it would take a very long time for the boys in Afghanistan to be educated up to the B. A. and M. A. degrees preparatory to their being sent abroad, it would be easier to get this done by selecting 200 Pushto-speaking graduates from India and sending them in batches of 50 each at the Afghan Government's expense to complete their education in foreign countries in order to serve as teachers in the proposed institutions in Afghanistan. The plausibility of the suggestion can hardly be questioned, and we cannot but endorse this theory with a slight alteration that the total number of such students to be sent abroad should be raised to 600. The arrangement means an expenditure of 200 pounds sterling at the average per head per annum, making a total of thirty thousand pounds for 150 students who may be receiving their education abroad at one time. This sum, we have every reason to believe, the Amir can well afford to spend, provided he manages to reduce other useless expenses. Advantages should also be taken of the Mahomedan College at Aligarh. The Afghan Government should annually send there 50 boys of the middle classes at the state expense after they have finished their elementary education in Afghanistan and the higher classes may be forced to send their children at their own cost. The Amir may set a wholesome precedent by sending some children of his family to Aligarh.

There is hardly a divergency of opinion among the thoughtful that the "truth will come and falsehood vanish" inasmuch as it "is evanescent" that "right not might will be the lord." The truth has revealed, is revealing and will always reveal and prevail. The wave of enlightenment and civilisation is irresistible and sees neither mountain fastnesses nor physical or political boundary. It will penetrate in the narrowest hole or nook with as much ease as a mouse. The light of culture will brighten the darkest of the darkness with its dazzling rays as it is all pervading and all powerful. So with all the world lighted with this mighty candle, Afghanistan can no longer rest isolated. She will have to throw her gates open to Western culture and civilisation and subject herself to foreign influences of refinement. Either this, or with her triple neighbours, namely, Russia growing ever great, England growing ever mighty and last but not least with Persia working tooth and nail for her salvation and shaking the Demon of sloth and lethargy it is an open secret that Afghanistan in the event of continuing in her present state of ignorance and backwardness can no longer hope to resist the tide of foreign encroachments with the inevitable result of ultimate loss of her dearly cherished independence.

THE UTILITY OF CATTLE SHOWS.

By Mr. K. S. Venkataramani.

"Now, man, we say, is a domesticated animal, for when he receives a proper education and happens to possess a good natural disposition, he usually becomes an animal most divine and tame. But when he is not sufficiently or properly trained, he is the most savage animal on the face of the earth. On this account a legislator ought to regard education neither as a secondary object nor yet as a by-work."—*Plato*.

THUS one of the fundamental duties of society is put in a nutshell with a rare emphasis, logic and eloquence by one of the pioneer teachers of humanity. The better ears of Plato's posterity have ever been ringing with this supreme call of duty. The whole effort of our civilisation is towards the strange task of humanising man. From the persuasive philosophies of Buddha, Christ and Krishna to the grand, indignant, scorching outburst of Carlyle and Emerson, this mighty movement of man has a rich history manifold in details, trivial and tragic in incidents. This one tremendous struggle of man to substantiate the reality of his name has put to its credit a slow yet steady success. All this struggle is for the perfect evolution of his better side, for the ultimate triumph of his gentler and nobler feelings over his animal nature which is tickled to the readiest response at the slightest touch. This quality of kindness which is the mainstay of the better side of man, whose choicest receptacle is the loftiest of hearts is not totally alien to others. It is in everybody. Only its presence is smothered under the conflicting tumult of coarser passions. The gentle, crystal rivulet of kindness loses its virtue and identity in the turbid, roaring, mountain torrent of life. How to subdue these mutinous postures of man whose inherent brutal tendencies punish him into a number of deplorable situations is the one soul-stirring engagement of humanity.

The greatest thinkers of the world have come to agree with Plato that there is no more wholesome way to achieve this end than that of educating the people out of their lower nature, out of their barbarities, out of their evil tendencies. Let them be constantly reminded of the fact that they are made in the image of God and thus kindness, gentleness, and other lofty virtues are their undisputed birthright and that to prostitute that noble prerogative is to sin both against man and God. Teach man the dignity of self. Remind him that his mission on this earth is one of peace and love.

Tell him of his immense power to do good if only he wills. Stir his soul and stimulate his heart to better and nobler deeds. Lift him up to a proper sense of recognition of the imperious summons of duty. Impress upon him the divine nature of that sublime quality of kindness in the words of Shakespeare. Teach him that the beauty, grandeur and success of life consists not in the capacity to indulge but in the ability to control ourselves. Tell him all these you are sure to suffuse his heart with the milk of humanity and ennoble his nature.

Such a sound education builds up a stately character which alone can supply the driving power for the evolution of universal humanity. Thus education is selected by the wisest thinkers of all ages as the excellent means of domesticating man. This love, this tenderness, this passion for peace, this yearning after the perfect development of the loftier qualities is cultivated to a large degree by a sound system of mental and moral culture. This feeling of kindness though at first an intelligible influence only between man and man, slowly extends itself with infinite grace even to the dumb animal creation. This cosmopolitan kindness has the highest ideals a human imagination can conceive. Man in his insatiable search after comforts subordinates animals. Animals no doubt serve an important purpose in the economy of creation. They are of course intended to discharge a very useful function. All of them are not meant to lead a life of romping wildness. Therefore it is both silly and thoughtless to preach a gospel of universal liberation of animals from the yoke of man. Even if it were possible it will not be kindness indeed. Some useful animals can't live without our protection. What the better nature protests against is the undue, unnecessary cruelty which we very often exercise over animals. So, it has ever been the problem of people of a nobler caste to devise *practical* means by which this great lesson can be taught, the sympathies of all can be enlisted and an effective appeal be made to the gentler aspect of man. It is contended that holding of animal shows is the best practical method to impart the needed instruction. This rather lengthy preface, if it is indeed nothing more than a mere preface, is absolutely essential to describe the general nature of the task and the foibles and partialities of man so that we may realise at a glance the place of this most useful, practical system among the methods of education which forms the underlying principle of success of this mighty and perhaps the one real enterprise of man.

It is by no means an easy task to make man conscious of the injustice of an act which he and his ancestors have been doing

from time immemorial. Any innovation based upon the high principle of kindness will seem to him amiable Quixotism, if not irritating interference. This child of custom will scarcely treat a sermon on kindness with calmness. Theoretical education even if received with respect and attention, though a considerable help in subduing a bursting passion or in softening the acerbities of a cruel temper is not always a complete success, and especially when self-interest is at stake, it cannot be made to appeal in such a manner as to produce a practical response, to the exquisite and subtle quality of benign tenderness.

The first thing that stands in the way of one feeling for another is the sense of inequality. This is a great ever active principle in human nature. If a man is once made to feel strongly that the creature he now maltreats is equal to him in many respects and in some even superior, we are sure to bring a blush to his face. He should be made to feel that the lower orders of creation are entitled to a kind treatment at his hands. One way of making him feel that the object he tyrannies is as divine a creature as himself is to collect a number of the best specimen of the object and present this striking array to him. Then he is impressed with the greatness of the animal which an accident of Nature has put under his sway. In this state of mind the mischievous egoism that is the father of man's many atrocities disappears and the quality of kindness becomes more spontaneous or rather less strained.

Again the instituting of prizes for the best reared animals is the method best calculated to infuse the quality of kindness into the daily habits of the masses. This is a splendid contrivance to arrest the attention of the man in the street and fix it on this subject. His curiosity is excited and he probes the matter at least to gratify his instinctive love of garrulity. He aspires to get the prize for the milchcow he has. He takes special care of his animal at least for a few days before the competition. Thus slowly he drifts into the fold of this humanitarian movement. He hears at first with indifference the persistent gospel of kindness expounded in the most practical way. But slowly he picks up the great lesson. Thus it is likely that what was at first only an indifferent curiosity might develop into compelling kindness.

Again, from the enforced experience he learns that kindness is also a paying quality for, his cow yielded more. This is perhaps the sole burden of proof for the success of your case. Because in this material world with the sickening, daily-growing

struggle for existence, you will have to show that kindness besides other alluring, abstract virtues has the primary recommendation of being a paying quality. This the holding of cattle shows with prizes for the best animals establishes.

The educative value of this method is immense. The practical demonstration will produce greater good results than 'a series of pathetic pulpit oratory. If you convince a man by mere abstract reasoning or move him by eloquent declamation, though touched for the time, soon a host of doubts dissipates his faith. Man is never over ready to be convinced by others. He never submits himself to be supplied with 'gentler' ideas by others owing to the conscious humiliation of the procedure. He gives you, his teacher, little credit for wisdom. He proclaims with extreme complacency that you are feeding your vanities upon profound absurdities. You approach him with much of "benignant" logic, but he meets it with a routing jeer. He never allows himself to be taught by you. If he can't refute your arguments, he takes revenge by doing just the reverse of the theories you were supporting. He never treasures up a lesson so carefully as the one he himself has picked up. In spontaneity, therefore, are to be found the enduring elements of permanence. From animal shows man picks up a lesson spontaneously so, a lasting lesson.

But as Plato says the effect of an act depends upon the disposition of the man who receives it. The drop of water on the red hot iron disappears with a hiss, on the lotus leaf leaps into a peart like shape, on the oyster the pearl itself. The results are proportionate to the nature of the man. The cause never loses its effect even on the most obdurate heart. But simply the results then are disparaging. After all even according to the most optimistic calculation the holding of cattle shows is only a drop of water in the raging hell-fires. The process of instruction may seem tedious and even costly, but there is no quicker or cheaper method.

The realization of the highest ideals of kindness is to be achieved by education, theoretical and practical. Man has no wanton delight in persistent perversity. Redberries charm the birds. It is his folly, not his intention. Any undue cruelty committed may be traced to a lack of sympathetic knowledge of the object ill-used. When the intellect lies fallow the heart leaps into hundred criminal absurdities. The illiterate man is totally incapacitated to feel any sympathy for the poor dumb animal

creation by an original dullness of sensibility. He is a slave of custom. Create in him nobility and train and develop his poor intellect you are sure to find in him the kindest of masters. If once he realises that the poor beast he maltreats is almost equal to him, stands the same in the affections of the all-Merciful Providence 'can feel as much as he, and is subject to the same laws of nature, he is sure to practically respond in future to the acquisition of that knowledge. Show him that instead of beating it, if he tends it with care, it will have strength for more work. In short, ignorance is the mainspring of mischief, and education the most potent remedy. And holding of cattle-shows is the sovereign method to impart that education. All these the show does with that, silence and certainty which we always associate with practical work. It leaves no room for the pedantry of sophistical and effusive talkers. It does its work in the most direct manner. It appeals with subtlety, rigor and charm. It educates the unlettered rustic to a better sense of responsibility and makes him feel a rapturous pride in keeping clean and healthy the animals that have fallen to his lot. It is upon the educative value the utility lies.

As a direct and practical power to induce the quality of kindness towards the dumb animal creation, to carry man to a loftier moral plane and lift him up to higher feelings and gentler thoughts we can't give to the importance of holding animal-shows too much of emphasis.

THE ETHICS OF MANU.

By Mr. G. A. Chandavarkar.

SPECULATIVE theologians firmly believe that morality will vanish if their dogmas are exploded. In all ages and climes, they say the threats of punishments for evil deeds and the promises of rewards for good deeds in the after-life have made men lead a highly moral life. Implicit faith in an Omnipotent Being, they add, has developed in man a high sense of morality. Ethicists on the other hand maintain that safety of morality lies neither in the adoption of this or that philosophic speculation nor in this or that theological creed but 'in a real and living belief in that fixed order of nature which sends social disorganisation upon the track of immorality as surely as it sends physical disease after physical trespasses'. They have no faith in the familiar adage of religionists that morals ought to be based upon the teaching of a special denomination. To them 'the death of dogma is the birth of morals'. Even when two parallel straight lines are bound to meet at some point we do not see any reason why the followers of these two schools of thought should not ultimately concur in their opinions. If the science of ethics places before us the ideal involved in human life, metaphysics justifies the conviction that moral life lived up to that ideal is worth living for and dying for. If ethics investigate into the constituents and conditions of the good of men considered as individual units, metaphysics enable us to know the ultimate grounds of existence or what it is that really exists. If ethics lead us to the study of moral principles and important details of duty, metaphysics take us on into the question of essential nature of human personality and the high place it occupies in the universe of real existence. If ethics inquire into the origin of the faculty by which duty is recognised, metaphysics endeavour to solve the problem of life and death. Thus we see that some relation ought to exist between these two sciences.

With these few introductory remarks, we proceed to place before our readers the rules of conduct as enumerated by Manu. At first sight, it would appear that Manu leans towards the beliefs of the twentieth century ethicists, but a closer study of the principles enunciated by that great 'philosopher-statesman will convince us that he too follows a course midway between those two parallel paths chalked out by ethicists and religionists. Some of his ingenious statements afford food for reflection to those who have found it difficult, if not impossible, to reconcile his theories with the postulates of modern thoughts. In one famous shloka of Manu,

धृतिः क्षमादमोस्तेय शौचं इन्द्रियनिग्रहः ।

अहिंसा दानं तपः श्रद्धा धैर्यं च ।
विद्यासत्यमक्रोधो दशकं धर्मनलक्षणम् ॥

these cardinal virtues have been classified as follows :—(1) Courage and firmness of mind. (2) Forgiveness. (3) Devotion to Virtue. (4) Honesty. (5) Purity (bodily and mental). (6) Direction of senses in the path of Rectitude. (7) Development of intellect. (8) Acquisition of true knowledge. (9) Truthfulness. (10) Freedom from anger.

This classification enables us to study how these virtues grow and gradually come to be recognised in the development of human life. Here we see Courage topping the list, and none can question the position it occupies. For success in life, possession of this virtue is a supreme necessity. No movement can prosper, no achievement is possible where there is a lack of this virtue. If the sun never sets on the dominions of the Britons, it is in a great measure due to the indomitable courage of English *men of action*. If Sivaji could stem the tide of the political subjugation and social conquest of the Hindu race, it is because Sivaji was highly endowed with this virtue. In early times, this virtue might have been confined to the valour in the battle-field, but even in modern times, when war has become a thing of the past, necessity of courage in all departments of life has ever remained the same. When a man of science expounds a new theory which is subversive of 'old pet theories', when a social reformer lays his fingers on the plague spots of society, the first virtue he summons to his aid is courage.

(2) *Forgiveness*.—Victory is the outcome of genuine bravery. Let us imagine that a warrior has been victorious in a battle and that his enemies have been completely subdued. What should be the dominant feeling in the mind of such a warrior? How should he treat his fallen enemy? A true warrior shall never go to the extent of ill-treating a fallen enemy. He would forgive and forget. History records many such illustrious examples. How well did Lord Canning deserve the name "*Clemency Canning*"! "The quality of mercy is an attribute to God Himself; Earthly power doth then show likest God's when mercy seasons justice" is what the Prince of Poets says. It is from some such consideration that Manu places *Forgiveness* next to *Courage*.

(3) and (4): *Devotion to Virtue and Honesty*.—"The acquisition of a thing without the permission of its owner, or through fraud, hypocrisy or breach of faith or by teaching falsely is called dishonesty and the reverse of, it is honesty." "Virtue", says Aristotle, "is the habit of choosing the relative mean, as it is determined by Reason and as the man of practical wisdom would determine it." Virtues are relative to different conditions of society and varying circumstances of individuals. It is, therefore, left to individual insight to determine what virtues are most conducive to the development and well-being of society. Manu, therefore, explains this in general terms.

(5) *Purity or cleanliness of body and mind*.—In chapter V, Shloka 109, Manu says in general terms as to how this purity can be attained.

"Water washes off the impurities of the body. Truth exalts the mind. Knowledge and strict devotion to duty elevate the soul. Possession of noble ideas refines the intellect."

अद्रिर्गात्राणि शुध्यन्ति मनःसत्येन शुध्यति ।

विद्यातपोभ्यां भतात्मा बुद्धिर्ज्ञाने न शुध्यति ॥

(6), (7) and (8) : *Development of intellect. &c.*,—In investigating the causes of criminality, scientists have arrived at the conclusion that *criminality is only a disease of the brain*. Dr. McEwen of Glasgow relates in the *Lancet* how a labourer after falling on his head from a scaffolding developed immoral tendencies. A tumour had formed on his brain. This was successfully removed by trepanning and the immoral tendencies disappeared. "Dr. Lydston tells us that Flesch examined the brains of 50 criminals and found imperfections in all. The doctor is of opinion that vice and crime will one day be shown more definitely than ever to be a matter to be dealt with more by Medical Science than Law." (Quoted by Mr. P. Vivian in his book on *Church and Modern Thought*.)

When we consider this aspect of the question of moral faculties being affected by brain defects, we can easily understand why Manu includes development of intellect among the virtues. Manu also suggests some means whereby we could develop intellect :—(1) Abstinence from intoxicants, from the company of the wicked, from idleness ; (2) Association with men of noble character and eating of wholesome articles of food.

While some of these virtues refer more to the well-being of an individual, there are some which are altruistic in nature, as honesty and freedom from wrath. Because the science of ethics investigates into the nature of such virtues as relate to the welfare of the society, Social Philosophy is considered to be an essential part of Ethics. The fact that psychology and logic are the cognate sciences of ethics needs no special demonstration.

Manu as a Rationalist.—Speaking of Dharma—true conduct of life—Manu observes :—

“विद्वद्भिः सेवितः सद्भिर्नित्यमद्वेष रागिभिः ।

हृदयेनाभ्यनुज्ञातो यो धर्मस्तन्नि बोधतः ॥”

Chapter II. 1.

"People should bear in mind that whatsoever is done by learned men—good and true—who are free from inordinate affection and hatred or whatsoever is known to be true by the testimony of the inner monitor—conscience—is the true conduct of life."—(*Dr. Bhardwaja's translation*).

Mr. P. Vivian, the writer of the book "*Church and Modern Thought*" (R. P. A. Series), includes Manu as a typical ethicist and rationalist among many other writers as Huxley. Edward Clodd and F. J. Gould, and quotes the following Shloka as translated by MaxMuller. "Where is the seat of authority for what is moral? Manu, the Indian Law-giver, answers, it in four ways: It rests on revelation (Shruti); it rests on tradition (Smriti); it rests on the behaviour of good people, and lastly it rests on *inward satisfaction*."

In none of these Shlokas quoted from Manu-Smriti, we find any direct reference to a belief in God or a certain denomination as an essential feature of ethics. At first sight it would appear as if Manu is a Rationalist whose creed may be defined as "the mental attitude which unreservedly accepts the supremacy of Reason" to establish a system of ethics verifiable by experience and independent of all "arbitrary assumption or authority." But we know for certain that Manu is a theist of theists and his reverence for the Vedas is simply unbounded. He in various other matters of polity and religion regards Vedas as final authority. If we Indians regard *vedas* as repository of all true knowledge and if they should contain nothing against the dictates either of conscience or of reason, we do not see any reason why theology and ethics should not conjointly work for the elevation of mankind. Some quotations are given below in order that the reader may see that the system of ethics as advocated by Manu is identical with the system adopted by various other ethicists.

Marcus Aurelius says:—"Show those qualities which are altogether in thy power, sincerity, endurance of labour, aversion to pleasure, content with thy portion and with few things, benevolence, frankness and magnanimity."

Confucius' classification.	Manu's classification with Sanskrit equivalents.
I. Righteousness. ...	I. "Satyam" सत्यम्.
II. Knowledge. ...	II. "Vidya" विद्या.
III. Magnanimity. ...	III. "Khshama" क्षमा.
IV. Energy. ...	IV. "Dhriti" or Courage धृति.
V. Gravity. ...	V. "Dhee" धीः.
VI. Earnestness. ...	VI. "Dama" दमः.
VII. Kindness. ...	VII. "Akrodha" अक्रोधः.

Plato's cardinal virtues.	Manu's equivalents in Sanskrit.
1. Courage. ...	(1) "Dhriti".
2. Wisdom. ...	(2) "Dhee".
3. Justice. ...	(3) "Satyam".
4. Righteousness. ...	(4) "Asteya".

Bhishma's enumeration in the Mahabharata.

Manu's Sanskrit equivalents.

(1) Control of anger.	...	...	"Akrodha".
(2) Justice.	...	...	"Satyam".
(3) Forgiveness.	...	...	"Kshhasma".
(4) Chastity.	...	...	"Shaucham".
(5) Purity of conduct.	...	...	"Do".
(6) Maintenance of dependants.	...	...	"Indriyanigraha".
(7) Simplicity.	...	...	"Astaya".
(8) Truthfulness of speech.	...	...	"Dama".
(9) Avoidance of quarrel.	...	...	

Marcus Aurelius' Enumeration.

Manu's Sanskrit equivalents.

(1) Endurance of labour.	...	...	"Dhriti".
(2) Sincerity.	...	...	"Satyam".
(3) Contentment.	...	...	"Asteya".
(4) Benevolence.	...	...	"Kshma".
(5) Magnanimity.	...	...	"Satyam".
(6) Frankness.	...	...	"Indriya Nigraha".
(7) Aversion to pleasure.	...	...	

The glory of this *Dharma* has been sung by many philosophers and poets. Says Shree Krishna :—

मृतंशरीरं उत्सृज्य काष्ठन्कोष्ठसमंवत् ।

विमुखाः बांधवाः यांति धर्मः त्वमनुगच्छति ॥

Throwing away the dead body as if it were a log of wood or a lump of earth, relatives and friends shall return from the crematorium. Only *Dharma* shall accompany you.

धनानिभूमौ पशवश्च गोष्ठे, भार्याग्रहद्वारे जनः शमशाने ।

देहश्चितायां परन्लोकमार्गे, धर्मानुगो गच्छति जीवकः ॥

is what the Mahabharatta records :—

"Man, erring man ! Do you think that your material possession, your lands, your houses, your cattle, your motors, your carriages, your wife and children, your friends and relations; nay, even your body, shall be of any use to you in your after life? Harken to what I say! Your wealth shall lie scattered about on the ground; your horses, your carriages shall remain in the stables; your wife shall bid you a good-bye at the threshold of your house; your friends and relations shall desert you on the burning ghat. But never mind them. Are you quite sure that at least your body will keep your company. Look, it is just there on the funeral pyre about to be transformed into a handful of ashes, yes, even if it be in the grave, all the elements shall be decomposed and lie rotting. Now, then, what accompanies you? It is *Dharma* and *Dharma* alone that shall be your guide and a constant companion in your march towards the one goal of life." How this *Dharma* can be acquired and how we can make our lives sublime have been admirably shown by *Manu*, the *Great-Indian—Law-Giver*.

IRRIGATION IN SOUTH INDIA.—I.

By Mr. Ithyerah Kutiyar.

IT has been said that he who makes two blades of grass grow where only one grew before is a benefactor of the world. How supremely then does the irrigation engineer deserve the esteem of his fellow-beings. He makes the arid desert tracts into smiling plains and turns waste lands into fruitful fields. The benefits of his silent work are seen over whole regions of land which previously supported poor crops or lay waste or even grew noxious weeds but are now waving with golden corn, millions upon millions of blades of not grass, but of the most useful and beneficent plants. Like the humble bee he gathers up the honey of wealth to fill the country's coffers and brings fruitfulness and joy into every corner of the land. His name spells comfort to many. It dispels the spectre of famine and almost effectively prevents destitution. A patient worker unknown like the bee, he genuinely deserves the lasting gratitude of his fellow men ; and yet is very often left in the lurch.

To us Indians especially, this subject of Irrigation is one which we can speak about with justifiable pride. In our older history it is found that irrigation works of no small magnitude were carried out with an amount of skill and boldness and perseverance, which, considering the knowledge and the means at the disposal of the men of those days, excite the admiration of the greatest Irrigation Engineers of the present day. Our present rulers have more than kept up the reputation of this land for eminence in the irrigation world. At the present day, if we compare India with other countries and consider the acreage irrigated, the amount of money spent on works, the magnitude of the works executed, or the skill and boldness with which such works have been carried out, or the benefits that have flowed from them, India stands far and away the first country in the world. Here are a few words quoted from the review of Irrigation for the 3 years ending 1907-1908.

"There was an average of 22 millions of acres of land irrigated from works constructed, restored or maintained by the British Government. The larger, for which accounts of capital and revenue are maintained, had a total expenditure to end 1905-1908 of Fifty crores of Rupees. The value of the crops raised on the lands under these larger works was estimated at $60\frac{1}{2}$ crores of Rupees per annum ; and yielded a nett revenue for the Government of $3\frac{1}{2}$ crores of Rupees or $7\frac{1}{2}$ on the capital outlay."

In the report of the Irrigation commission published in 1903, the total irrigation acreage in India under Government control and private management, and those in Native States was estimated at 54,000,000 acres. In the same year the acreage in other principal irrigation countries of the world was estimated as follows :—

The United States	...	...	7,600,000	Acres.
Egypt	...	...	6,000,000	"
Italy	...	...	4,700,000	"
Spain	...	...	2,800,000	"
France	...	...	400,000	"
Or a total of			<u>21½ millions</u>	<u>Acres.</u>

It may safely be said that the irrigated acreage of India is more than twice that of the rest of world put together.

Alfred Deakin of Australia after visiting the principal works in the Peninsula, wrote as follows :—

"In India cultivation and Irrigation are both upon the greatest scale. Its agriculturists vastly more than equal in number the whole population of Canada, the United States and Mexico put together, while those who live by irrigation are more in number than the whole of the farmers and farm labourers of the same countries engaged in wet and dry farming together. India has four times as large an area irrigated as there is in North America ; its canals exceed all others in length and capacity ; its methods and its products are more varied ; its yield more valueable than that harvested in any other country : and India thus maintains a denser population than any equal tract of the earth's surface of which we have trustworthy information. In every respect it may be entitled the first irrigation country of the world.

Regarding the Engineering enterprise involved in Indian Irrigation works, the same writer says "Irrigation engineering of the United States with the single exception of the Bear valley system is child's play so far, when measured with that of even the least successful of the Presidencies of India. The Italian canals are admirably designed and efficiently managed but cannot bear the comparison any more than America. Egypt has still the largest canal and in the Barrage the largest single structure of a high type but for all that is surpassed both in size and quality of work by the Punjab, the North-West Provinces and Madras. Every variety of major and minor hydraulic structures, is to be found somewhere in India, almost every river and storage difficulty has been faced ; all classes of soil worked upon and the danger of damage in flood or loss by soakage alike confronted. India has seen the whole gamut of irrigation works and is therefore incomparably superior to any country in the world as a school for the Irrigation Engineer."

The above is a type of what outsiders think of Indian irrigation. It is the one subject on which Swadashies and Videshies, the rulers and the ruled alike, the rich and very much more the poor, look upon with great pride and complacence.

This is the best apology for my introducing such a technical subject into a popular magazine. The object of this article is not to magnify any aspect of the Engineering profession, nor is it to flatter my countrymen by tales of what our ancestors have done or of what is being done now in the country pre-eminent as it is in this matter of irrigation. Its aims are far other. It seeks to give the reader an adequate conception of the great importance to which India has risen in this respect, and to dispel or at least to allay, as far as possible, the desperate pessimism of many of my countrymen ; a feeling which has tended of late to destroy all self-respect within us, and made our motherland look so small in our eyes, a feeling which tempted our hands to resort to violence and robbed our hearts of the loyal feeling we ever had for the Empire of which we are an essential part. This article further seeks to point out to the thoughtful reader how irrigation forms one of the most prominent lines of development, by working along which the country's weal can be wrought. As Mr. Wilson expressed it in his last report, India has been and is bound to be for a long

time to come, a mainly agricultural country. The present resources of the country can be greatly increased by extending and improving her irrigation system. This may not increase the country's credit by leaps and bounds, but it will be a dead asset, an insurance against the poverty of its millions. Commerce and industry are going to engage our serious attention for the coming years, but they shall by no means divert the attention which we must pay to this subject of prime importance. Commerce and Industry will mainly make the rich richer; but it is scientific agriculture which will lend a helping hand to the poor farmer to lift his head from the dust of penury and indigence. The nation as a whole is in a hurry to grow rich and to raise its social status; but let it not be forgotten that the poor are not to be left behind. Hurry on your hankering after national greatness and wealth, leaving the poor man in the lurch, very soon you will find yourselves bound hand and foot by all the Social evils of the West; and weighed down by the burden of materialism as the West is at present.

Lastly the attempt of mine to place before the reader a popular description of the methods of Irrigation Engineering is to help him to appreciate the difficulties overcome and the problems faced by the Irrigation Engineer and to secure thereby his co-operation in irrigation undertakings of our country. Sympathy and support from the layman is highly valued by the Irrigationist. Those who have read the history of the Godavari and Krishna projects will realise this to the full. How deplorably handicapped were the immortal Sir Arthur and his veteran colleagues, because of popular prejudice and official Bumbledom. The layman can help to remove prejudice and may yet be of more direct help. When he become familiarised with the methods by which water has been made available, for agriculture in our own country and elsewhere he in his turn might look out in his own district for possible projects of irrigation.

The irrigation official is perhaps only too often so intent on the particular work he is engaged on, to look out ahead for further fields for his employment. Many a very successful irrigation project was first suggested by a layman. It must not, however, be supposed that every project that is suggested whether by a layman or a professional, proves on investigation to be one that can be easily and economically worked out. And yet if a hundred projects were suggested and only one of them was carried out successfully, it would more than repay the trouble taken on all the hundred.

Further this attempt to popularise irrigation ideas will have its just reward if it, persuaded any agriculturist who used irrigation water from wasting any of it. This will be again in two ways. To the Irrigation Department it means so much gain of water and to the agriculturist the safety of his land from being water-logged.

So, then, in all sobriety of thought and with a due regard to its relative importance to the present economic condition of India we will pay some attention to the subject of irrigation.

Irrigation may be divided into two classes, viz., Lift irrigation and Flow irrigation. In lift irrigation at some point or other in the course of the water from the natural source from which it is obtained to the land on which it is served it is lifted against the force of gravity. In flow irrigation the water

throughout flows by gravitation. Many forms of lift irrigation must be familiar to you the common scoop basket the Oni, the Kamalai, the Yettam or Picottah are all implements of lift irrigation. In fact, lift irrigation in its primitive form is one of the oldest of arts ; but in its modern developments, it is compared with flow irrigation, a new subject. The problems involved in lift irrigation are firstly those of finding suitable sources of water so that the "lift" may be as small as possible, and secondly, the adaptation of the motive power for the work to be done in the most economical manner. Flow irrigation can by its very nature be adopted only to places where water is available at suitable elevations above the land to be irrigated. Lift irrigation on the other hand is limited only by the amount of power available and the cost involved. Lift irrigation is generally more expensive than flow irrigation in first cost if we reckon the cost per acre irrigated; and it is invariably so in the cost of up-keep. For example, expensive as the Kodayar Project of S. Travancore is, it costs less than Rs 100 per acre irrigated and at less than a rupee per acre per annum the Project works are maintained and the water served on the ryots' fields. Flow irrigation pays best in tracts deficient in rainfall and where therefore a nearly constant artificial supply has to be maintained, but where there is fairly good and well distributed rain intermittent supplies are wanted and where sources of water exists at levels near the surface of the ground lift irrigation is often more profitable than flow irrigation which might involve the bringing of water from long distances. Steep or broken country will adversely affect a scheme of flow irrigation more than that of lift irrigation, because in the latter the lead of the water will be comparatively shorter. The condition of North and Central Travancore seem to point that in many places there lift irrigation is more likely to be feasible than flow irrigation. So also in some of the districts of the Presidency as Mr. Chatterton is trying to make out, flow irrigation will be more advantageous.

I do not, however, propose in this article to deal at length with lift irrigation. It is comparatively a new subject. Some experimental work is being carried out under the Director of Industries in the Madras Presidency and a great amount of facts and data have been collected and some of them published. But yet in the present state of knowledge in the adaptation of machinery to Indian lift irrigation it must be said that the client is readier to ask questions than Engineers are prepared to give definite advice. Mr. Chatterton's notes on this subject are invaluable in furnishing details about every form of minor projects of this kind. The prospects of lift irrigation are rapidly improving. With cheap but efficient Prime movers like oil and gas engine with cheapening liquid and other fuels with improvement ; and wind mills and electric motors to utilise natural sources of energy yet untapped the scope for economical lift irrigation is bound to widen out rapidly. I shall only give a short description of the Divi Island Pumping Project which has been recently carried out successfully in the Madras Presidency. This will serve as a concrete example of the circumstances in which a lift irrigation project may be preferred to a flow irrigation project.

The Divi is an island of nearly 29 miles area near the mouth of the Kistna River. It is separated from the delta mainland by the Puligadda branch of the Kistna. The main land is irrigated by canals taking off from the anicut across the Kistna at Bezwada 40 miles above the head of the island.

Two means of irrigating the island obviously present themselves as possible, viz., either to lift the water from the river so as to command the irrigable lands; or to bring the water from the nearest channel in the delta by an aqueduct across the Puligadda. The latter method would not only have involved heavy expenditure on the aqueduct and banks but also would have proved a burden in the delta system. For this will be an addition to the area to be served from above the anicut while the former utilises water which has come past the anicut and therefore useless for the delta maintained. For these 2 reasons the Pumping project was preferred. The full supply level to be maintained in this channel for effectively commanding the land was 12 feet above the ordinary dry weather level in the river. This is the maximum lift that has to be dealt with. Floods in the river however rise to 18 feet above the dry weather level and in flood full supply can be maintained in the channels by direct flow. The plant is therefore so arranged that whenever the river is high enough to feed the supply channel by gravitation, the supply is thus drawn and the lifting plant is used only when the river is too low to feed the channel by gravitation. The lifting plant consists of 8 centrifugal pumps each with two section pipes $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet diameter and a single delivery pipe 5 feet in diameter. Each pump is driven by a Diesel oil engine burning liquid fuel and capable of developing 160 B. H. P. each. The Diesel engine is perhaps the costliest type of oil engine but its consumption of fuel is the lowest. The Divi Island engines were specified to consume not more than $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. of liquid fuel costing about $1\frac{1}{2}$ pies per H. P. per hour working with full load or say 12 Rs. per hour for all the engines. They were guaranteed to deliver 584 c. ft. of water per second which was to irrigate 50,000 acres of land. This is a very large lift irrigation scheme and you see the circumstances under which it has proved successful.

To the class of flow irrigation belong the bulk of the irrigation works which have made India famous, and among these the irrigation works of the large deltas are the most productive. It is the income from the Delta districts that forms the backbone of the irrigation revenue of the Madras Presidency and deltaic irrigation works form a class by themselves which we may first consider.

The name delta was first given by the Greeks to the region at the mouth of the Nile. It had since been applied to similar formations at the mouths of large silt bearing rivers. When the river falls into the sea, its velocity which enabled it to carry its burden of silt in suspension is checked and silt is deposited at the mouth of the river. The coast line is thus advanced seaward. It has been estimated for example that at the mouth of the Tiber the coast advances from 12 to 13 feet per annum. The harbour of Ostia once situated on the coast is now 3 miles inland. In this manner a low lying stretch of alluvial country called the delta is formed at the mouth of large silt bearing rivers. The river itself when it enters the delta changes its character. In its upland course, it received compliments at every step and enlarged as it advance towards the sea. When it enters the delta, it begins to split up into branches. The water finds the passage through one of the branches less obstructed. The velocity of scouring action in that branch are increased in the other they tend to diminish. The one channel gradually absorbs the whole of the water supply and the other silts up. But as the mouth of the new main channel extends seaward

new shoals form at the mouth and the river tends to form new bifurcations one of which in time may become the main channel. The level of the delta tends continually to rise by deposition of fresh materials and the bed of the river also rises with that of the surrounding country. The river periodically inundates over the banks and the silt is deposited in greatest abundance where the water first leaves the river. The section of the country assumes a peculiar form, the river flowing in a trough along the crest of a ridge from which the ground slopes away on both sides. A delta is thus an ideal situation for irrigation. The river forms an abundant source of supply. It is easily diverted and can with slight elevation command the whole of the delta and the rich alluvium provides an ideal soil for the utilisation of the water in cultivation.

The old irrigationists of Southern India recognised the irrigation facilities of the delta and in Tanjore an elaborate system of irrigation works had been in working order for centuries before the advent of British Engineers. Tradition attributes the construction of the grand anicut on the Kaveri to the second century of the Christian Era. At the beginning of the last century owing no doubt to the political troubles through which the Districts had passed through, the irrigation works of the delta had fallen in to disrepair. So the erosion of the bed of the Coleron threatened the whole district with famine. There appeared then on the scene that great Pioneer of modern irrigation in South India, Sir Arthur Cotton. The resuscitation of the old works of the Kaveri delta and the construction of new works on modern lines were due to this great man, and we owe to this towering genius the construction of similar works on the two other large deltas in the Presidency, the Godaveri and the Krishna. ON account of irrigation in Southern India can be complete without a tribute to this great and good man.

The Kaveri 8 miles above the town of Trichinopoly divides itself in two branches called the Kaveri Proper and the Coleron. The Coleron has not much irrigation under it. But very little of the water of the Kaveri Proper goes to the sea unutilised. Below the Town of Trichinopoly the Kaveri at some very ancient date seems to have breached back into the Coleron. The breaches was made up by a large masonry structure called the Grand Anicut built as is said some 18,000 years ago. This is not so much an anicut as a sort of escape or Kalingullah regulating the depth of water that will pass into the delta all surplus going back into the Coleron over its crest. Enclosed between the Kaveri and the Coleron and extending from the bifurcation of the river to the grand Anicut is the Island of Srirangam on which is situated the great Vaishnavite Temple, and other famous shrines.

In the beginning of the last century the Coleron began to scour its bed while the Kaveri began to silt up so that less and less water passed into the delta while more and more went to waste. For several years, temporary bunds were put across the Coleron but only to be washed away by the next flood and to increase the scouring action. Sir Arthur Cotton in (1836-1838) built the Upper Anicut across the Coleron. This structure is 2,000' in length from shore to shore, inclusive of two islands in the river. The crest of it was 12' above the river bed and it was provided with 20 scouring sluices to prevent accumulation of sand in the upper reach of the river. This remedied the situation at once. In fact it more than remedied it; for it was found that the

Kaveri now began to erode its bed and throw large quantities of silt into the delta. To remedy this a low dam for the most part having its crest only 18" higher called the Kaveri Dam was built across the head of the Kaveri proper nearly opposite the Upper Anicut. This established the regime of the two rivers. Below the Grand Anicut from the Kaveri the Vennar takes off. At this bifurcation has now been built a handsome regulator of 15 arches for the Kaveri and 14 for the Vennar. Lower down the Kodamuritty the Arasalar and the Veera Sholan Kal are larger branches taking off from the Kaveri. The Vennar in its turn has branches called the Vadavar and the Vattar and all these branches split up into numerous similar and smaller channels covering the whole delta into a net-work of channels. The Kaveri proper reaches the sea near a small Town called Kaveripatnam, but by that time it becomes a very small stream. On the Coleron itself Sir Arthur Cotton built another anicut called Lower Anicut from which on each side take off the North Rajan Voikal and the South Rajan Voikal. The irrigation under the Kaveri is 670,000 acres.

I have endeavoured to place before you this description of the Kaveri delta on account of its historial importance as also on account of the facts that it was the irrigation under this delta that gave Sir Arthur Cotton the idea of similar works on the Godaveri and the Kistna. We have no space to go into detailed description of the works.

The work in a system of deltaic irrigation consists of the Anicut, the under-sluiques necessary to keep down the accumulation of sand, the head sluices and the channels. The anicut is generally a long one, because the river is necessarily a large one, wide but shallow. It is comparatively a low structure. The great difficulty in building the anicut is the foundations, the river bed being sandy for considerable depths. Unless percolation through this sand is prevented the structure may be undermined. This difficulty was overcome by the old South Indian device of well foundation. Small wells of brick are built on wooden curbs at the bottom of a shallow excavation. The brick masonry is bound with the straw ropes and the sand inside is scooped out, and as the sand is scooped out the well sinks. Another instalment in the height of the well is then built and this is sunk and so on. Rows of such wells extending to the full length of the anicut and the width of its base are thus sunk and on the top of these wells a platform of masonry is built on which the anicut is raised.

Another difficulty which no doubt will suggest itself is the question how to deal with water in the river while building the anicut. This is not so serious as might at first seem; because although the rivers dealt with are large and pass down enormous volumes of water in floods, they run very dry during the hot season. The Kistna, for example, although it has been known to discharge 778,000 cubic feet of water in flood going 24 feet over for crest of the Anicut has for several months in the hot season a discharge not much exceeding 100 cubic feet per second. The bulk of the work is carried out during these dry months, or half finished work. The under-sluiques which are a necessary adjunct of such anicuts are built, first their sills are placed at the level of the deep bed of the river and once they are completed they permit much of the water to be passed through them without flooding the work in progress. The object

of the under-sluices is not only to keep water down during construction in this manner but also to keep a deep channel in front of the head-sluices which pass the water into the supply channels which it is desirable to keep clear of silt especially the heavier and sandy portion of the silt. With this object the under-sluices are built at the ends of Anicuts in proximity to the head-sluices, and they are so arranged that the current induced by the under-sluice sweeps in front of the head-sluice or the channel which leads to the head-sluice. The under-sluices and head-sluices are bridge-like structures. But the bays are closed by wooden shutters capable of being lifted and closed by screw or other simple gearing, from a platform above the highest flood in the river and accessible from land at all times. The sill level of the under-sluices is always fixed 2 or 3 feet lower than the sill of the head-sluices. The difference between the head-sluice's sill and the crest of the anicut is the maximum depth of water that can be drawn from the river into the channels so long as the anicut does not waste any water over its crest. The full supply of the channel is fixed somewhat lower than the crest of the anicut to allow for the loss of head down the head-sluices.

THE Hindustan Review

LITERARY SUPPLEMENT.

MOTTO :--A reviewer of books is a person with views and opinions of his own about life and literature, science and art, fashion, style and fancy, which he applies ruthlessly or pleasantly, dogmatically or suggestively, ironically or plainly, as his humour prompts or his method dictates, to books written by some body else. The two notes of the critic are sympathy and knowledge. Sympathy and knowledge must go hand in hand through the fields of criticism. As neither sympathy nor knowledge can ever be complete, the perfect critic is an impossibility. It is hard for a reviewer to help being ignorant, but he need never be a hypocrite. Knowledge certainly seems of the very essence of good criticism and yet judging is more than knowing. Taste, delicacy, discrimination—unless the critic has some of these, he is naught. Even knowledge and sympathy must own a master. That master is sanity. Let sanity for ever sit enthroned in the critic's armchair.—*The Rt. Hon'ble Augustine Birrell, M. P., on "The Critical Faculty."*

LIFE AND LABOURS OF ROMESH CHANDRA DUTT.*

ACCORDING to a school of thinkers, the history of a country is a collection of the biographies of its great men. Whether this definition be accepted or not, the Indian mind has never been noted for any special attachment either towards history or towards biography. For the pre-Muhammadan period we have not a single connected narrative of events or institutions and all that is known of individuals has to be gathered from fragmentary archæological remains or the writings of foreigners. In the Mussalman centuries the extremely few true historians like Albiruni or Firishta were really strangers in the land. Personal details of the lives of the great men of the period, of Alauddin or Firoz Shah, of Akbar or Sivaji, are scanty and have to be culled from many different sources. For non-political personages such as Chaitanya, Tulsidas or Nanak, the information available is equally unsatisfactory. Coming down to modern times we have no proper biography of men like Ram Mohan Roy or Mahadeo Govind Ranade. Mr. Gupta's work is therefore to be welcomed not only for its own sake but as setting a good example which we trust will be largely followed. The book is remarkably well got up and is published at the marvellously cheap price

* *The Life and Work of Romesh Chunder Dutt*—By J. N. Gupta, M. A., I. C. S (London : J. M. Dent and Sons, Ltd, 1911, 2s. 6d. nett.

of half a crown (less than two rupees) which reflects credit on the enterprise of the publishers. It is to be hoped that the Indian public will appreciate and reward the venture.

Mr. Gupta has suffered from three serious disabilities in the compilation of the biography. Romesh Chunder Dutt passed away from us only a couple of years ago and the more important part of his work from the public point of view was crowded into the dozen years of his life after his retirement from the Indian Civil Service in 1897. The time has not, therefore, come to take a proper perspective of his aims and ideals or of his success and achievement. The place of Romesh Dutt among his literary or political contemporaries or in the history of his country it will be difficult to assign for another generation at least. Nor can any final judgment be passed yet whether the theories and arguments of which Romesh Dutt was the protagonist were in each case or on the whole sober and correct. Secondly, our author was connected with his hero by the very close tie of marriage. Although this kinship enabled him to get an inside view of the personal life of Dutt which was perhaps denied to strangers, it is doubtful whether the position is not ordinarily a disqualification for a dispassionate estimate of the work and character of the subject of biography. Thirdly, the main work of the political side of Dutt's life was a criticism of the principles and methods of State now in vogue in India. Mr. Gupta is in the active service of the State and in his own words "a Bengali member of the Service considers himself committed to an absolute silence about public questions."

In spite, however, of his limitations Mr. Gupta has done exceedingly well. Had the biography not been undertaken at once it would, we fear, have never been written. Many subjects treated in the present work are of absorbing interest to the contemporaries of Dutt and will probably be dull reading thirty years hence. Besides there was perhaps no one more competent than Mr. Gupta to act as the literary executor of Dutt. The book is really more in the nature of a memoir than a study and criticism of the life and work of Romesh Dutt. Except in the last chapter the author seldom obtrudes his own views on any question, and even there only a general estimate is presented and not a detailed criticism of the work and ideals of Dutt. The biographer has, we think, wisely in view of the difficulties mentioned above, allowed Dutt to unfold the story of his own life by giving copious extracts from his letters and published writings. Mr. Gupta has also been scrupulously fair to the opponents of Dutt's political views by endeavouring, wherever possible, to furnish an authoritative abstract of their side of a question. The book is therefore an invaluable mine of information for the political student of to-day or for the historian of to-morrow. For our sons and grandsons Mr. Gupta's work will furnish plenty of material to arrive at a correct estimate of the life and work of Dutt in true perspective. The reviewer may indeed

be permitted to complain that Mr. Gupta has not always exercised a wise discretion in his extracts. A more judicious use of the pruning scissors was desirable from every point of view. No good purpose has been served by the publication of letters of very recent date, dwelling on present day politics, which were clearly meant to be confidential by their writers. Some of them refer to internecine quarrels among the leaders of Indian public opinion. We have always an aversion to the washing of one's own dirty linen in public. Then again it was unnecessary to print in the life of a man of Dutt's position letters containing " appreciations " of his official or literary work of the same type as are vulgarly called " chits " in Northern India. The same remark applies to the copious extracts from the contemporary press on the literary publications of Romesh Dutt. The views of Jolly and Oldenburg on " The Civilisation of Ancient India " or of Lewis Morris and Alfred Wallace on the metrical renderings of the Ramayana or the Mahabharata are indeed welcome, but of what permanent interest can be the opinion of the *Dundee Advertiser* on the *Lake of Palms*? Similarly a careful selection of the more intimate letters written by Dutt to his family undoubtedly merited a place in the book, but we fear that Mr. Gupta has overburdened his work with this kind of matter. We have also a quarrel with the author for printing many insipid verses (we really have no better term for them) addressed in English by Dutt to the members of his family, although the book contains not a single quotation from the *Epics of Ancient India* in which Dutt undoubtedly achieved considerable success as a versifier in a foreign tongue. Nor have we been able to understand the principle on which the illustrations in the book have been selected. Pictures of Dutt's friends and contemporaries who have achieved public distinction would have been of interest in the place of those actually given us. We have ventured to point out these blemishes in the work in the hope that they will be rectified when a second edition is called for. The book will lose nothing by the quotations being less prolix and more restrained.

II.

The history of Romesh Dutt's life is without any varied or stirring incidents. Born in 1848 in a well known Calcutta family which has also had the distinction of producing Toru Dutt, Romesh lost his father in early life, but was able after a career at the Calcutta Presidency College to proceed to England for the open competition of the Indian Civil Service. The story of the flight to England of Dutt and his life-long friend Bihari Lal Gupta along with Surendra Nath Banerjee is now well known. All three justified their journey by the success at the examination of 1869, and by their subsequent career in life. After three years in England the three friends returned to India in 1871. Mr. Gupta's biography gives us copious extracts from the journals of Dutt describing travels including the incident at Versailles when three friends were suspected to be communists.

and clapped into the guard house, to be released "with apologies" the next morning. One could have however wished that Mr. Gupta had been able to give a more detailed picture of the life of the Indian student at that period in England and of his relations with fellow-students and English people generally. This would be specially interesting in view of the peculiar position occupied by the Indian student in England at the present day. The enterprising band of Indian students who were the Pioneers of their country at the English Universities is unfortunately thinning every day, but we hope men like Dr. P. K. Ray and Mr. B. L. Gupta will record their views and impression for the benefit of their successors. On his return to India Dutt passed through the usual routine of official life before appointment as a district officer in the early eighties and as a commissioner of a division in April, 1894. Three years later Dutt retired from the Indian Civil Service and spent the following seven years in England in literary and political work. In 1904, he accepted the post of Revenue Minister to the Maharaja of Baroda and was later promoted to be Dewan. Between the autumn of 1907 and the spring of 1909 he served as the Indian member on the Royal Decentralisation Commission. He died at his post in Baroda in November, 1909. Romesh Dutt was married at a very early age and had one son and five daughters. He never suffered a bereavement and his family life was throughout happy inasmuch as it had no history.

The life of Romesh Dutt may be examined in three different aspects, as an administrator, as a literary man, and as a politician and statesman. As an official, Dutt was more or less a pioneer and a very successful pioneer for the matter of that. He was the first Indian to be promoted to the responsible position of district officer and the first Indian also to rise to the rank of a Commissioner. Had he chosen to stay on in the service there can be little doubt that he would have risen to a still higher position. Similarly, he was the first Indian of the modern school of thought to occupy the high rank of the first minister of one of the premier states of the Empire. Everywhere his ability and success were acknowledged. From the day when as a junior Joint he was sent to restore order in the island in the Sundarbans where a mighty cataclysm of Nature had thrown everything into chaos his stern sense of duty, his sympathy with the people and his loyalty to the true interests of the state marked him out as a born administrator. The heaviest districts in Bengal, Barisal, Mymensing and Midnapur were confided to his charge. He had not to wait patiently in the seclusion of a sidetrack before his claim to a Commissionership was acknowledged. In Baroda his work won the approbation alike of his master the Gaikwar, the British Resident and the general populace. What were the secrets of his success? Dutt's biographer who ought perhaps to know makes the singular remark "It has been sometimes observed and with some amount of justice that the Indian members of the Imperial Civil Service do not command the same respect

from their countrymen as their European colleagues". We are altogether unable to agree with this dictum and the pages of this very book entirely contradict such a distorted view of things, but perhaps the word "respect" here is a slip for "awe and dread". Probably Dutt's success lay in this very fact. It is well known that in Bengal specially there is a very great gulf between the rulers and the ruled. One does not really know the other. In the case of Romesh Dutt this gulf did not exist. His people knew him, respected him and liked him but had no awe or dread for him. Dutt therefore knew what his people wanted and he could also explain to them what was being done for them. This unique advantage added to his untiring industry and great ability to our mind fully explains Dutt's signal success throughout his official career. In Baroda as well as in British India his sympathy with the people and his sympathy for the broad ideals of his masters enabled him to interpret one to the other and to bring them into closer touch.!

As a literary man Dutt was confessedly an amateur and a dilettante. He has attained a respectable position in many branches of literature but did not rise to an olympian height in any. The journals of his travels are pleasant reading but display neither the grasp nor the penetration of works of the class of *Eothen*. Yet what an opportunity was his! He was an indefatigable traveller and saw a great deal of India and of Europe in his time. His books are, however, altogether wanting in any analysis or criticism of the social institutions, manners or culture of the provinces and countries he visited. His *Histroy of Bengali Literature*, his *Civilisation of Ancient India* and his translation of the Rig Veda are all extremely useful publications popularising for the general reader the labours of several score of assiduous workers. But as Dutt would have been himself the first to acknowledge no *original* work has involved in any of these publications. All these books however meant for their compiler a tremendous amount of hard persistent work and dogged perseverance. They were undertaken in the course of the unremitting duties of a district officer or during leave earned after strenuous official labour for years. Whoever (like the present writer) has attempted to do any literary work during the very fitful leisure of a District Officer knows what a strain it must have been. Every credit is therefore due to Romesh Dutt for what he accomplished and his example is a beaconlight for younger Indians of ability now in the different services and professions. Of his work after retirement, in his *Economic History of India under British Rule*, Dutt displayed the greatest industry and a remarkable ability to marshal facts, but the book is disappointing to the true student. Romesh Dutt had not the judicial temperament now insisted on in an historian; his work was one-sided and incomplete. Indeed, materials for a true and complete economic history of India must be collected by many hands for a long time yet before a satisfactory generalisation will be pos-

sible. On the other hand in the metrical rendering into English of the ancient epics of India, Romesh Dutt achieved a notable success. He has done a very great service to his country by presenting to European readers in an easy and attractive form the most valuable treasures of early Indian literature. Dutt will perhaps be longest remembered in Europe on account of the Epics. Among his own countrymen in Bengal, Romesh Dutt's literary reputation will rest mainly on his translation of the Rig Veda and on his novels. Not much dialectic or literary skill could be displayed in the former if the translation was not to depart from the spirit of the original but the solidity of the work will not be questioned and the faithfulness of the translation has never been authoritatively challenged. In his novels Romesh Dutt undoubtedly attained a high standard to which we do not think his biographer has done quite adequate justice. He was practically a pioneer in historical novels in Bengali for although *Durgeshmandini* was the earliest production of Bankim Chatterjee, it can hardly be called a historical novel, whereas the second edition of *Rajsinha* in which Bankim really attempted to fuse history into fiction came long after *The Hundred Years* of Romesh Dutt. The Bengali writings of men like Romesh Dutt and Rabindra Tagore, men in different ways steeped in the traditional English education, are a complete refutation of the charge often laid against their class of the neglect of their own language.

There remains the last aspect of Dutt's life, his career as a politician and a constructive statesman. Here also Dutt began early with the *Peasantry of Bengal* published in 1875 in which an attempt was made to analyse the causes of agrarian unrest in Bengal and to find a solution of the same. Pace his flirtation with "Permanent Settlement," Romesh Dutt was always the champion of the tenant in his unequal struggle with the landlord. The Government of Bengal publicly acknowledged his services in connection with the shaping of their Tenancy Bill which in a somewhat mutilated form became the Bengal Tenancy Act of Lord Dufferin's government. The later political labours of Dutt, *e. g.*, in connection with local Government in Calcutta and Bengal, the separation of the Judiciary and the Executive, the causes and preventives of Famines, the question of assessment of land revenue, the constitutional reforms and decentralisation, touch the current history of the country at almost every point. They cannot be discussed within the short limits of this review. It will suffice to say that Mr. Gupta's book offers a faithful presentment of Romesh Dutt's eminent services to his country in these matters. The equally important problems of social and industrial progress are also treated with considerable detail in the present biography.

No Indian can rise from a perusal of these pages without a sense of admiration for the manifold work attempted by Romesh Dutt and the success actually achieved by him. As Mr. Gupta truly observes, "Along

nearly every avenue of intellectual and material progress did he seek to show the way to his countrymen. And in order to awaken a true spirit of nationalism amongst them, and to stimulate their highest and noblest aspirations, there was no labour howsoever arduous and exacting, which he did not manfully and cheerfully undertake." The biography of Romesh Dutt inspires us with a new hope for our country and for ourselves.

IEWS AND REVIEWS.

THE EVOLUTION OF MUSIC IN EAST AND WEST*-I.

By Dr. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, D. Sc. (Lond.)

THE late Mr. Hipkins wrote, in the preface to Captain Day's *Music and Musical Instruments of Southern India*, the following words: "We must forget what is merely European, national, or conventional, and submit the whole of the phenomena to a philosophical as well as a sympathetic consideration, such as in this (nineteenth) century is conceded to language, but has not yet found its way to music"; (nor, we may add, to the other arts). In a recently published book,* Miss Margaret Glyn has endeavoured to study the theory of music on the broad basis of an impartial examination of the music of all civilized peoples, considered as an evolutionary art; and although a pioneer work of this kind can hardly attain completeness, nor accuracy of detail in every respect, it is so far significant and illuminating as to deserve a lengthy notice. We shall not attempt to review the work from a technical point of view; but inasmuch as its object is "to weld all the various parts of musical education into one consistent and logical whole," we shall consider it from the point of view of musical education and appreciation in a general sense. This course is the more justified inasmuch as the book "is not planned to act as a mechanical guide to music, nor to cram students for examination".

The *Introduction* is largely a plea for sincerity in art, and, as such, is very worthy of the attention of modern Indian educational imitators of pseudo-European culture. "Would not any one prefer," asks the authoress, "to hear something original and sincere, however simple, than the cleverest imitation? Are we likely to attain greatness in art, or in any other department of life, by remaining a nation of imitators?....."

"Elementary musical education is therefore of the highest importance. Develop the natural powers of mind in the child as you would the muscles of the body, and a strong, healthy individuality will result. Such an individuality is essential to the life of art. Of its importance in national life, it is for the social reformer to speak, yet it must be clear that our existence as a race depends upon our capacity for standing on our own feet, both nationally and individually. It is possible that the musician

* *Analysis of the Evolution of Musical Form*: By Margaret Glyn. 1909. 10/6

may be the pioneer of this new educational movement, a movement that regards the mind as a living thing to be fed, rather than a warehouse to be crammed...

"If Nature is given her own way, imagination goes before, and as opportunity offers, understanding follows after. Imagination does not grow out of understanding, but understanding out of imagination." "Our own indigenous folk-art should form the backbone of elementary education, for all natural musical development springs out of national dance-songs. The spirit of folk-song is the true art-spirit which asserts itself against the soul-destroying bondage of custom and routine, that has done so much to thwart and hold up the natural currents of musical inspiration. We shall do well to claim our national heritage....It is the atmosphere of folk-music that needs to be restored, and this can only be effected by teaching in the schools since song and dance have died out in the home. It is not a question of a cursory glance through such music, but a thorough familiarity with it—a storing of it up in the memory, for only in this way can its charm be felt. And if English (*or Indian!*) folk-music have ceased to charm the Englishman (*or Indian!*), though he have all knowledge and make music to the end of time, it will be but as empty sound and waste paper, since he is persistently ignoring the law of nature which decrees that, because sincerity is the first requirement, only through the gateway of national character can art attain to the expression of the universal".

Not the least valuable part of the book is the sympathetic and often illuminating comparisons of western and eastern musical methods and ideas. Speaking of the use of semi-tones and smaller divisions which tend to weaken or even destroy consonance (harmony), it is suggested that their development is due to something other than the 'consonant intuition' of western music, and this something may be called the 'microtonal' instinct, the love of minute divisions of pitch.

"This instinct is at the root of Eastern music in the same manner as the consonant instinct underlies the Western art. It is true that the Hindus had developed at an early period a diatonic scale which accords practically with our own; but when we learn that this very scale is one of seventy-two in their system as against one of two in ours, its very different relative significance may be guessed. And notwithstanding the fact that all these seventy-two scales can be written in European notation, the Hindus assert, and doubtless with truth, that their *srutis*, the tiny third and quarter-tones, are the essential and primitive foundation of their music. The diatonic scale is a useful formula, and it is the only meeting place of East and West on the side of pitch; but it represents microtonal music no more than it conveys any impression in itself of our harmonic art.

"According to the view of music here set forth, scale-form is reached by two separate paths, typified by European and Asiatic (since in Europe

and Asia is found the most striking development of either) ; these converge till they meet in the common ground of the scale and then diverge again more widely than before.

"The origin of Asiatic melody is in microtonal intervals...There is found in it little of the sensuous delight in consonance which bulks so largely in Western music."

Eastern ears are, of course, far more sensitive to small intervals, than is the case in the West ; hence only very few Europeans are capable of adequately recording Eastern melodies ; which can nevertheless be done, even in staff notation, if a sufficient number of additional signs and conventions are employed.

Finally in treating of the different scale types of East and West, we have the following :

"Both these variations (of relative and absolute pitch in a scale) enter into all music, but it is the concentrating of attention upon one or the other that forms the essential difference between Eastern and Western art." "Asiatic scale-form develops a profusion of modes bewildering to the Westerner who probably knows but two, the familiar major and minor. These he is disposed to regard as all-sufficient, and the notion of another seventy or eighty thereto is hardly to be taken seriously. He is quite unconscious of the fact that this development of modes forms the essential basis of Eastern tonality in exactly the same way as transpositions of his own two modes form the Western key-system. What it is in the East that corresponds with the key of the West is probably a blank to his mind. If he has ever heard of a raga it is only to be told that it has much to do with gods and goddesses, hours of the day and night, seasons of the year and so forth—in short, that the subject is one of great complexity. In some such words as these have most of our historians dismissed the matter."

In European music "The effect of chromaticism is not only to give a welcome relief from monotony, but up to a certain point actually to strengthen the key as a rhythmic whole. This is effected by the semitonal movement to tonic and dominant already noticed. There are, however, certain limits to the carrying out of the semi-tonal principle to its full extent in harmonic art, because this loosens the bonds of the key, and finally resolves itself into the union of chromatic scales, in which no key and scarcely any consonance, can be found to exist. This is an approximation towards Asiatic music...." We quote this paragraph on account of the interest attaching to actual approximations to Eastern melody which are to be met with in some modern European music, as for instance, sometimes in Brahms, also in Donald Tovey. But it need not be supposed that all harmony (consonance) is impossible to microtonal music, past or future; we find the contrary indicated in the preface to Mr. Bourgault-Ducoudray's *Melodies Populaires de Grece*, where he says, "We trust that

we have been able to show that the application of harmony to Oriental scales is productive of result. Eastern music, till now, exclusively melodic, will start upon a new harmonic career ; Western harmonic music, hitherto restricted to the exclusive use of two modes, the major and minor, will escape at last from its long confinement. The fruit of this deliverance will be to provide Western musicians with fresh resources of expression, and with colours hitherto unknown to the palette of the musician." Nevertheless it is apparently in the nature of things that music based on diatonic scales should develop most along the lines of consonance, and microtonal music on melodic lines ; neither can fully take the place of the other.

A whole chapter is devoted to "Eastern Tonality." It is of so much interest to meet with this careful study of Eastern music, expressed in Western terminology, and the results should be so useful in evoking that mutual respect which must ultimately replace the present insularity of the Western point of view, and the frequent servility of the Eastern, that it will be worth while to make considerable extracts.

"In the Eastern model system we are brought face to face with a first tone of the scale which is neither a tonic nor a key-note. It is probably the lack of the name that has prevented our recognising the thing, and when we begin to perceive that a scale-tone ('the first degree of a scale') can exist on its own merits, its connection with tonality follows easily enough. It is not a tonalitive centre, but it is necessarily a basis, because the lowest tone of the scale. And whereas we Europeans unite our tonic and our scale-tone inextricably, the Asiatic keeps his apart, each having its own function. There is nothing final about the Eastern tonic ; a melody may circle around it, and so far as the tonic is concerned there is no particular reason why it should ever leave off. Orientals have a fondness for the circular form of air which repeats itself *ad libitum*, and has no conclusion. At the same time the need for a final tone is recognized, and the scale tone is used for the purpose. At once a relation is set up between the scale-tone and the tonic, and this opens the door to new developments of relative pitch. The tonic is no longer an independent centre, but becomes a tonic upon a definite degree of the scale, with specially related tones upon other degrees. The key-circle of the Western system, with its two modes only and uniform tonic reproduced at all levels of pitch is here replaced not only by many variations of mode, but by variation of the position of the tonic within the mode. This is a thing that lies outside of the normal European experience. But seeing that the Oriental, lacking the consonant intuition, has his attention absorbed by mode-variation, and that this prevents recognition of differing scale-tones, is it likely that he should be anxious to confine his tonic to what is practically a single tone? We might as well confine our music to a single key. All music of advanced model character is condi-

tioned by this development of the movable tonic, which means the further differentiation of relative pitch as opposed to development on the lines of absolute pitch. It is the normal evolution of a purely melodic art, owing its charm to delicate and subtle inflections of pitch, to which those possessed of the microtonal instinct are naturally susceptible."

In discussing raga, the authoress quotes S. M. Tagore: "A raga is a succession of notes so arranged as to awaken a certain feeling of the mind." This indeed expresses the Hindu view of the essentially emotional character of art: its purpose is to awaken a mood, and that workmanship is best which best expresses or can best awaken the mood intended. But a natural mistake is made in speaking of ragas and raginis: "The ragas and raginis (technically the same thing) are all named after the gods, who brought down music from heaven for the solace of man." This is a very outside point of view; it would be truer to say that the ragas and raginis are the angels of music whose emotional characteristics are equally expressed in the given sound-type and in the visual concept. Eastern languages possess many names for other-than-human consciousnesses, and it is misleading to speak of all these as 'gods.' Nevertheless some ragas are identified with 'gods'; as Bhairava, an attendant or form of Siva, whose characteristics he shows in pictures of the raga. Very many pictures of the ragas and raginis exist, often in sets, some very beautiful, others crudely drawn; the whole of this part of the subject needs further investigation, especially in connection with the relation of sound to colour. This subject is briefly referred to as follows: "The best general idea that can be given of the art (Hindu music) may be found in the analogy with colour. It is a fact that Sanskrit authorities recognized each degree of the scale as relating to a special colour. This is an idea not unfamiliar to Europeans, but where it is attempted literally to combine such colours on the lines of harmonic art, the result is grotesque. On the other hand, in melodic music, where degrees of pitch are recognised only as a needful foundation to be wiped out at will by the *murchana* (movement by *srutis*, which implies imperceptible intervals)*, a real analogy with colour does exist. The subtle gradations of colour tones in nature and in the finest art find their counterpart in the equally subtle shading of the pitch-tones of Oriental music."

Discant is defined as "A combination of moving parts without a consonant basis." We are told, (perhaps with exaggeration?) that "no such thing as harmony in the European sense, or even a rudimentary conception of it, exists in Asia. The Easterns have no chord-sense, and do not like chords when they hear them. The mistake (of supposing the contrary) has arisen through lack of knowledge of the distinction between harmony and discant, which are entirely separate things...It is perhaps a

* Produced on instruments tuned apparently to equal temperament, by 'pulling' the strings aside.

new idea to European musicians that it is possible to create a form of art which unites tones of differing pitch simultaneously that are devoid of consonant relations, and they are still less aware that such an art has existed, no man knows how long, in the East. To describe this music as purely dissonant, would create a false impression, for, strictly speaking, dissonance implies a feeling for a consonant basis upon which it forms a variation. Where a scale only forms the pitch standard, there is no appreciable consonant basis, and the music is simply of a non-consonant character."

THE HOME UNIVERSITY LIBRARY.

The School: an Introduction to the Study of Education, by Prof. J. J. Flndlay, Ph. D. *Landmarks in French Literature*, by G. L. Strachey, M. A. *Architecture*, by Prof. W. R. Lethaby. *Anthropology*, by R. R. Morett, M. A. *Climate and Weather*, by Prof. H. N. Dickson, D.Sc. *The Problems of Philosophy*, by the Hon. Bertrand Russel, F.R.S. *Rome*, by W. Warde Fowler, M.A. *The History of England: A Study in Political Evolution*, by A. F. Pollard, M. A., Professor of English History in London University. *Canada*, by A. G. Bradley. *Peoples and Problems of India*, by Sir T. W. Holderness, K.C.S.I. (London. Williams & Norgate. Each pp. 256. Price 1 s. a volume.)

IN the issue of the *Hindustan Review* for February last we noticed the third instalment of the volumes of Messrs. Williams and Norgate's splendid enterprise, the "Home University Library," a series of highly useful and interesting original contributions by experts in all branches of knowledge, written in popular language, which we fully characterised in noticing the first batch of ten volumes. We have much pleasure now in drawing attention to the fourth series of ten volumes (enumerated above) which has just appeared. The editors and publishers of this excellent series evidently intend to provide every one—for the modest price of one shilling per volume brings the series within the reach of practically every one—with the very sort of information that is so difficult to get easily and is yet so needful. Of the volumes before us, four may be said to deal with national questions and are of special interest to us in India. These we shall notice at some length, contenting ourselves with but brief references, to the other six. *Canada*, by Mr. A. G. Bradley, *Rome*, by Mr. Warde Fowler, *Peoples and Problems of India*, by Sir Thomas Holderness, and Prof. Pollard's *History of England, a Study in Political Evolution*, each in its way teaches the lessons of the growth, the strengths and the weaknesses of great nations, but two of these again—*Canada* and *India*—are of particular interest to us.

The first of them carries upon the title-page that single magic word, *Rome*, with the name of one of our first authorities on life in the ancient world, Mr. W. Warde Fowler, M.A. Here, he who runs may read the story of how the most wonderful of historic empires was built up, what it meant for the Western world, and why it fell into ruin. The second volume is a masterly essay on the *History of England, a Study of Political Evolution*, by Mr. A. F. Pollard, Professor of English History in London University who traces the development and interprets the character of British civilisation from its foundation to

the present day. The third is by Mr. A. G. Bradley, and describes *Canada* of to-day, briefly summarising the history of the Dominion, and then surveying and estimating the resources of each Province. In the fourth, under the title of *Peoples and Problems of India*, Sir Thomas Holderness, one of the heads of the India Office in London, reviews the geography, history, racial and social divisions, religions, economic life, and government of the greatest British dependency. The first thought on comparing Sir Thomas Holderness's account of India with Mr. Bradley's vivid description of Canada may be one of discouragement, even of despair, for those who hope to see a closer association of all the members of the Great British Empire. Indian caste, Canadian democracy—can there be any common ground between such extremes as these? "In Western countries," says Sir Thomas Holderness, "it is possible to distinguish social and economic forces. In India it is difficult to make this distinction as the whole structure of Indian society and to a large extent the economic conditions of Indian life are based upon religion." Indian "unrest"—of which, by the way, Sir Thomas Holderness gives a fair and impartial account—has features altogether unknown in other lands. The multifarious provincial conference of which he speaks are as purely Indian in character as *Swadeshi* and *Swaraj*. The use of the English language is the essential and basic fact in Canadian life. But in India "out of three hundred and fifteen millions of inhabitants, little more than one million have this knowledge," and "there are thousands of villages in which no one takes in (even) a vernacular newspaper."

Add to these and a host of other contrasts the fact that Canada is still not perfectly unified and that India is itself a complex of differing races, religions, castes, customs, ideas, and aspirations, and to a short-sighted observer the hope of Imperial unity vanishes. Happily, the process of civilisation is a process of unification. New differences, it is true, revealed, but only to be resolved into a fresh and higher unity. Even in the East, the engineer and doctor, the lawyer and teacher, as well as the agents of the State, are at work breaking down old limits and imposing common measures of health, justice, instruction. "Education," says Professor Pollard, "is at the root of all political systems. No Imperial organization could arise among a group of states ignorant of each other's needs, resources, and aspirations."

Thus within the compass of these two small books, lies the cream of the romance of the British Empire. They are both written with great knowledge—Sir Thomas Holderness is one of the heads of the India Office, and Mr. Bradley talks with the familiarity of old friendship of all parts of the Dominion—and after much the same plan, first sketching the geographical divisions and features, then the history, and finally the great political and social characteristics. But what utterly different pictures the two writers produce! Canada, only now discovering the immensity of its resources, and setting itself to the building up of a free, white, self-directing Commonwealth. India, still for the most part buried in the past, with its medley of races and religions, its alien Government above and its caste and archaic agriculture beneath. Yet, in a deeper than any merely political sense, both these extremes are or should be connected in our minds by the sense of a common duty arising from a common heritage. Let even so much as is set down here, so attractively and skilfully, be known to every citizen and all who will presently claim citizenship, and not a few of the problems which Sir Thomas Holderness describes will be far on the way to solution.

Then, then, is the interest and significance of the four small volumes. In them, as in the Imperial Crown the extremes of the realm meet; and we congratulate authors, editors, and publishers alike upon an effort of popular education which is full of happy auguries. They are helping the Empire to become conscious of itself; and if the first result of such endeavours is to make men conscious of diversity, the second and more lasting is surely to make them realise their common heritage, the growing community of sentiment and interest which is the cement of the Imperial family. In its way there is no finer story than that of the colonisation of the British North-West. In its way, there is nothing more majestic than the panorama of Indian life which for a brilliant moment was concentrated for King-Emperor George in the Delhi Durbar. But when in imagination we see a class of Indian students learning from Professors Pollard and Mr. Bradley what British civilisation means at the other end of the earth; when we see the Australian squatter, the Rand miner, the farmer of British Columbia, along with the artisan of Lancashire and the London clerk, taking lessons in Indian Government from Sir Thomas Holderness, it seems to us that East and West are meeting in the most real sense, and that a current of mutual understanding between the Mother Country, and her Colonies, and her greatest dependency has been set up which may be of the utmost value for the future.

Next to these two are of interest to us, *Rome* and *England*. Mr. Warde Fowler in his *Rome* catches us at the outset with the contrast—Greece for beauty, Rome for power. Roman art is realistic, matter-of-fact; Roman literature “has a strictly practical object, and bears directly on human life.” “The Romans were not an adventurous people: they were not imaginative enough to be so.” But there was something irresistible in their solid, practical, courageous energy. “It cannot be said that they excelled either in industrial or commercial pursuits.” Looking back through the marvellous vista of the Republic and the Empire we are tempted to say, as Virgil said, that to govern was their destiny:—

“Others will mould their bronzes to breathe with a tenderer grace. . .
Thine, O Roman, remember, to reign over every race!”

That is why we never tire of the story of the making and unmaking of the Cæsars. It has a hundred lessons for us; but, more, it has all of tragedy and magic that Troy had for the old Greeks. The man who does not know something of what the word “Rome” means is still a child, and the best advice we can give him is to spend a couple of hours in the delightful company of Mr. Fowler.

Something of the political unity which underlies the superficial breaks of Western history would be grasped by taking these two books in succession. In his brilliant essay, Prof. Pollard traces the development of British civilisation and interprets its character, from the Roman era, through the period of national settlement, and the beginnings of popular government and expansion, to the present day of industrial democracy. There are available hundreds of small manuals of English history, chiefly, perhaps, junior class-books. This volume is clearly distinguished from all such not only by the status of its author and the fact that it is written in the main for adult readers, but by its evolutionary treatment of the subject, “as an interpretation of human development.” The result is that the great features of a story too often over-

crowded and involved stand out clearly like the peaks of a mountain range. We hardly know which to admire more, Prof. Pollard's skill in realising the overwhelming importance of developments such as the Industrial Revolution, his richness of illustration, or his wise and suggestive discussion of national character and the peculiarities of British democracy. The slow increase of popular power Prof. Pollard regards as "the real English conquest" and "the chief content of English history"; and from this view he reaches the conclusion that "the function of English government is not merely to embody the organized might and the executive brain of England, but also to enforce its collective and co-ordinating conscience." The book has a useful chronological table in addition to the bibliography which is a feature of all the volumes of the Home University Library.

Mr. Maret's volume on *Anthropology* is one that may also well be studied in this connection, for knowledge of man must help the understanding of human societies; while education, dealt with in Prof. Findlay's volume on *The School*, must always be an essential factor in the intellectual capacity of a state as of an individual.

Philosophy, too, is a great aid—we had almost said a necessity—when an opinion has to be formed; and its problems are admirably treated in the Hon. B. Russell's contribution. Though a Vice-regal decree regulating the weather is still beyond the bounds of possibility, yet Professor Dickson's volume on *Climate and Weather* is worth studying, if it is only to enable us to understand the weather reports which we are provided daily, and which, with its aid, become fascinating reading. *French Literature* and *Architecture* may seem at first sight rather remote from present-day problems, but are they? Literature is the expression of a nation's intellectual life, and in these days of the *entente cordiale*, who will not welcome Mr. Strachey's brilliant guide to the better understanding, through their literature, of the mind of the great people of France? So, too, Professor Lethaby's book on Architecture will teach us to read aright those great documents of history, the architectural monuments of the western world.

We have not characterized at any length the above six volumes for want of space, but it goes without saying that they are as scholarly and luminous in their exposition of the subject each of them deals with, as the other four which we have adequately noticed. We strongly urge upon educated Indians the desirability of reading up the whole series of "Home University Library." But whether they will do so or not, no English-knowing Indian but must make a careful study of Sir Thomas Holderness' *Peoples and Problems of India*, which—considering its small size and limited compass—is about the best manual known to us of the conditions and problems of modern India, written with not only fulness of knowledge and considerable experience of the realities of Indian life but also with a sanity unsurpassed and a freedom from prejudice which is as rare as it is refreshing.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

INDIAN DIRECTORIES—IMPERIAL AND PROVINCIAL

1. *Thacker's Indian Directory for 1912*.—Embracing the whole of British India and Native States, eleven maps, including a Railway Map. (Messrs. Thacker Spink and Co., Calcutta) 1912. Price Rs. 25.

2. *The Times of India Calendar and Directory for 1912.*—(The "Times of India" Office, Bombay, 1912.) Price Rs. 10.
3. *The Asylum Press Almanack and Directory of Madras and South India, including Burma for 1912.*—(Lawrence Asylum Press, Madras, 1911.) Price Rs. 6.
4. *Khosla's Directory of India, Burma and Ceylon, for 1912.*—(Messrs. K. R. Khosla and Brothers, Lahore, 1912.) Price Rs. 15.

THE fiftieth edition of a work of reference scarcely needs the reviewer's commendation. *Thacker's Indian Directory* is a household word in the official and commercial circles in this country and deservedly so, for few books of reference, in the class of directories, are so useful as the familiar *lal kitab* ("red book"), which has been now regularly issued by Messrs. Thacker, Spink and Co., for half a century; and the 1912 edition of which is its jubilee volume. It is difficult to characterise this splendid book of reference, as its range of information is most comprehensive and its scope covers the whole Indian Empire. Suffice it to say that it is the one indispensable work of reference for all living in or connected with India. In order to bring the *Directory* upto date, considerable changes have had to be made in the arrangement of the huge mass of matter, the information is fully abreast of the march of events, and every effort has been made to improve the usefulness of the work. *The Directory* is accompanied by the usual maps, and will be found as valuable as ever. Altogether, the current issue is one on which the publishers can be sincerely congratulated. The compilation of such an enormous mass of facts and figures must be a work of no mean labour, and Messrs. Thacker, Spink and Co., are entitled to the highest commendation for their spirit of enterprise in providing the public with such an admirable work of reference.

The Times of India Calendar and Directory—to give the publication its full name—is an annual of long standing and is as well-known in Western India as *Thacker's Directory* in Northern or the *Asylum Press Almanack and Directory* in Southern India. Though intended originally for use in the Bombay Presidency, it now covers so wide a range as to be of use in all parts of the country. It is comprehensive in its scope and brings within its purview the trade, commerce and official information pertaining to the whole of India. The edition for the current year has been thoroughly overhauled; and it is wonderful abreast of the time. The calendar is a distinctive feature of the *Times' Directory*, and it is, therefore, rightly included in the designation of the work. Interesting and accurate information is given about the Hindu, Musalman, Buddhist and Christian "feasts, fasts, and festivals." It would be an act of supererogation to say of this Bombay publication that its commercial information is up-to-date and exhaustive. In fact, it is no disparagement of the other directories to say that in the excellence of its commercial information, the *Times of India Directory* remains unsurpassed by any of its competitors. Detailed information is given about the various districts comprised in the Bombay Presidency. Altogether the *Times' Directory* is one which no business man in the Western Presidency or one having any business connection with the Presidency of Bombay, can do without. Its get-up and mechanical execution do credit to the resources of the "Times Press," and it is cheaply priced at Rs. 10. We have much pleasure in drawing the attention of

business in Upper India to this excellently-arranged and valuable work of reference.

The Asylum Press Almanack and Directory of Madras and Southern India, including Burma, is the oldest Indian directory in existence. Having seen the light in 1801, the current edition is the hundred and eleventh edition of the work. Its long title is sufficiently explanatory of its contents. It is a compact and well-digested repertory of most useful and very valuable information, bearing on the administration, legislation, industries and general progress of the Madras presidency, in particular, and South India and Burma, in general. It is, in fact, an encyclopædia and gazetteer in one, and, as a book reference, is of the greatest value to all connected with public affairs in Southern India and Burma. It is published at the commencement of each new year by the Lawrence Asylum Press of Madras, and is turned out with excellent mechanical execution. Above all, the *Asylum Press Almanack*—as the book is called in common parlance—is not only one of the very best, but also the *cheapest* of the provincial directories, regard being had to its size and the most useful information it gives—its price being Rs. 6 only. On the whole, it is a work of reference, which should find a place on the bookshelf of every publicist in Southern India and Burma. The map of Madras accompanying the *Directory* is a useful feature of the work. An elaborate index materially contributes to the usefulness of the work, which, in the excellence of its arrangement and the value of its information, can hold its own against any other provincial directory.

Considering that all the three directories noticed above are Anglo-Indian publications, it is gratifying to find the fourth directory in our list the outcome of Indian enterprise, and whatever the deficiencies of *Khosla's Directory*, credit is nevertheless due to its enterprising publishers for having undertaken a gigantic task, as their *Directory* is even bulkier than *Thacker's*. It being but in its seventh edition, there is naturally yet room for improvement in *Khosla's Directory*. Even as it is, it will be found of the highest value, by the mercantile world in this country, for whom mainly the work seems to have been intended. We wish the enterprise of Messrs. Khosla and Brothers every success, and feel sure it will not be long before their publication will have been so improved as to come to be regarded as an indispensable work of reference. Particular attention will have to be paid to the get-up of the volume, if it is to successfully compete with its Anglo-Indian rivals. But apart from its get-up in which too there is marked improvement from year to year, it is replete with information on all subjects which one may look for in a well-equipped directory, and it is a monument to the energy and enterprise of its publishers, who—as the first Indian firm to have taken an initiative in this direction—are entitled to great credit.

PRESS DIRECTORIES FOR 1912.

1. *Mitchell's Newspaper Press Directory for 1912*—(C. Mitchell, & Co., Limited, Mitchell House. (1 and 2 Snow Hill, Holborn Viaduct, London, E.C.) Price one florin (2s.—6d.)

2. *Sell's World's Press, 1911-1912*—(168 and 167 Fleet Street, London E. C.) Price one crown, (5s.)

3. *Street's Newspaper Directory, 1912*—(G. Street & Co., Limited, 30 Cornhill, London, E. C.) Price 3s.—6d.
4. *Vicker's Newspaper Gazetteer, 1912*—(J. W. Vickers & Co., 5 Nicholas Lane, London, E. C.) Price half a crown (2s.—6d.).
5. *Willin'g Press Guide, 1912*—(James Willin'g, Junr., Limited, 125 Strand, London, E. C.) Price one shilling.
6. *Layton's Handy Newspaper List, 1912*—(Charles and Edwin Layton, 36 Farringdom Street, London, E. C.) Price 6d.

OF the British press directories, which still continue to be published year after year, *Mitchell's* is the oldest, the issue under notice being the sixty-seventh annual publication. It is also one of the most comprehensive and well-arranged. The present issue contains the usual special articles which are its striking feature and which are of great value to pressmen, as also illustrated obituary notices of the leading British journalists who died in 1911. Besides giving the fullest information about the British and Irish periodicals, journals, and newspapers, it devotes special sections to the colonial and the Indian press. The section headed "The Newspaper Press of India," gives lists of Indian periodicals, journals and newspapers. The lists are, on the whole, complete and well-arranged, though regard being had to the circumstances under which they are compiled, one need not be surprised at their not being fully up-to-date. Some papers which ceased to exist last year or even year before last still figure in the lists, while some that have recently been started are conspicuous by their absence. The editor will do well to entrust the Indian section to some expert. Making allowance for it, however, *Mitchell's Directory* is the best and cheapest work of its kind.

The *World's Press*, edited for thirty years by the late Mr. Henry Sell, is one of the most famous press directories, by reason of its wealth and variety of information. Besides elaborate lists of periodical publications of almost all the countries of the world, it is enriched by a long series of special articles written by experts, on subjects likely to be of interest to publicists. The lists of newspapers, journals and periodicals in it are generally comprehensive and are classified on principles calculated to facilitate reference. There is a section devoted to the periodical publications of India, but the list is a short one, and there is obviously room for considerable improvement in this section.

Street's Newspaper Directory is conceived on less ambitious lines than *Mitchell* or *Sell's*, as it contains no special article on current journalistic topics, but otherwise it is a carefully-compiled and comprehensive directory of the British and the Irish press, with a section devoted to "a selected list of the leading colonial and Indian newspapers." About six pages are devoted to the periodical publications of India, but there are notable omissions in this list even in the case of well-known papers, journals and periodicals. The Indian section of the directory requires thorough overhauling.

Viker's Newspaper Gazetteer is compiled on the same lines as *Street's*, i. e., it comprises lists of British and Irish periodical publications, without any special contributions on topics of interest to pressmen. It has also a small "Colonial, Indian and Foreign section," the portion devoted to India being confined to some two pages. This list is thus obviously incomplete, and many of the leading

Indian and Anglo-Indian publications find no place in it. It is desirable that in the next edition the editor should make an effort to obtain reliable and adequate information about the periodical publications of this country.

Willings' Press Guide is a marvellous shillingworth of information about the British and Irish press, comprising some singularly interesting details about the histories of the older papers, which are not accessible in any of the other directories. Its list of "Existing Newspapers and Periodicals of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries, Arranged Chronologically," is a most valuable feature, so is the list of "Titular Changes and Amalgamations." Its Indian section covers but half a page and is even more perfunctory than that of the other directories. But its lists of British and Irish publications are perhaps the most comprehensive of any and they are classified on lines conducive to enhancing the value of the book as a handy and useful work of reference.

Layton's Handy Newspaper List is—as its name indicates—meant, above everything, to be a 'handy' compilation, which certainly it is. It strictly confines itself to the British and the Irish press and makes no effort to deal with the Foreign, Colonial and Indian press. Within the limits it has set for itself, it is a useful, little pamphlet, clearly printed and neatly got-up in paper covers.

OUR LIBRARY TABLE: MISCELLANEOUS LITERATURE.

WE have very great pleasure in drawing the attention of our readers to another great literary enterprise, just initiated by Messrs. T. G. and E. G. Jack, of Edinburgh, in their new series of "Peoples Books," bound in cloth and sold at six pence net a volume. This is a library of new books by writers of distinction with the object of bringing within the reach of all the results of modern knowledge. The series as at present arranged, will consist of sixty volumes of which the first twelve have just been issued. They cover the latest investigations in the fields of science, philosophy and religion, history, social and economic problems and letters. Written in a simple and attractive style and of a handy size, each volume is a notable guide to one or other of the above subjects. These volumes so far issued may be fittingly classified under their various headings: Science: *Botany: The Modern Study of Plants* by M. C. Stopes, D. Sc., Ph. D., F. L. S.; *Heredity* by J. A. S. Watson, B. Sc., *Organic Chemistry* by Professor J. B. Cohan, B. Sc., F. R. S.; *The Principles of Electricity* by Norman R. Campbell, M. A.; and *The Science of the Stars* by E. W. Maunder, F. R. A. S., of the Royal Observatory, Greenwich. Philosophy and Religion: *Henri Bergson: The Philosophy of Change* by H. Wildon Carr, and *Roman Catholicism* by H. B. Coxon, preface by Mr. R. H. Benson. History: *Mary Queen of Scots* by E. O'Neil, M. A. Social and Economic: *Women's Suffrage* by M. G. Fawcett, L. L. D. Letters: *Shakespeare* by Professor C. H. Herford, Litt. D.; *Pure Gold: A choice of Lyrics and Sonnets*, by H. C. O'Neil, and *Dante* by A. G. Ferrers Howell. The books in this series are not mere reprints of older works. Each book is written by an author of established reputation in the subject of which he treats. They are written in simple style, and each volume has appended to it a list of books to guide those who may wish to enter more fully into the subject. They are neatly bound, are exceedingly handy, and the price 6 *d.* net for each of the books is such as to bring the

series within reach of all classes. It is the intention of the publishers to make the series co-extensive with the whole field of modern knowledge. The books are of the highest standard both as regards matter and style. We congratulate the publishers on their enterprise and commend the series to educated Indians.

The *Beharee* writes :—"Thanks to the patriotism and spirit of enterprise of our public men—and notably of the Hon. Kumar Krityanand Sinha and of his talented Manager, the Hon. Rai Bahadur Siva Sankar Sahay—our province is at last going to have an English daily. The telegram, that has already appeared in the papers, has announced that it has been definitely decided to convert the *Beharee* into a high-class daily, equipped with Reuter's foreign service and the Indian service of the Associated Agency, and that arrangements have been made for a very competent editorial staff. Though the exact date on which the *Beharee* will appear in its new form is not yet settled, it will probably synchronise with the arrival here of Sir Charles Bayley, to assume charge of the administration. The company which will own the daily *Beharee* will have a capital of three lakhs in shares of ten rupees each. It has been decided to fix the value of each share at rupees ten, so as to give a chance to even men of moderate means to contribute their mite towards the organization of a thoroughly representative organ of public opinion in Behar and Orissa, and it is to be sincerely hoped that the educated public will avail themselves of this great opportunity, by responding to the call of the organizers of the daily, to take their proper share in the development of public life in their new province. It is proposed that the affairs of the company will be regulated by a board of no less than fifteen directors, the first chairman of which—as is but befitting—will be that public-spirited and generous nobleman, the Hon. Kumar Krityananda Sinha, who is fully qualified by his education (he is a graduate of the Allahabad University), character and status in public life, to occupy the high position to which he has been elected by his co-workers. It is a good augury for the success of the venture that so sane, experienced and patriotic a gentleman as Babu Krishna Sahay—the present Secretary to the board of directors of the *Beharee*—has been chosen to conduct the affairs of the new company owning the daily, as Secretary to the new board of directors. We are not yet in a position to announce the names of the other directors, but it may be stated in general terms that it is intended to make the board thoroughly representative of every important interest in the population of the new province, one which will inspire confidence throughout Behar and Orissa. Though the paper will continue to appear under its old and well-established name of the *Beharee*, it will pay special attention to the affairs of Orissa, which is now and integral an important part of the new province, and every effort will be made to enlist the co-operation and sympathy of leading Uriya gentlemen in the venture, Babu Krishna Sahay as the Secretary of the new board, is now busy organizing the concern and the Hon. Rai Bahadur Siva Sankar Sahay—to whom the scheme undoubtedly owes its inception and initiation and who is thus entitled to the deepest and sincerest gratitude of the people of our province—and the Hon. Messrs. Haque and Sinha have gone down to Calcutta to purchase the plant and machinery—all of the latest and best—for equipping a first class press both for printing the daily and carrying on job work on a large scale. The annual subscription of the paper—the get up of which will be of a superior character—will pro-

bably be Rs. 24. We have no doubt these few particulars will interest our readers with whom it now rests by doing all that lies in their power in the way of co-operation to make the venture a thorough success." It has been since announced that Professor Maheshwar Prasad of the Muir Central College, Allahabad, has resigned his appointment and accepted the post of the editor of the daily *Beharee*. We comment on this announcement in the "Kayastha World" section.

The Life of Hiuen Tsiang, (Messrs. Kegan Paul, London), is a useful addition to Oriental literature. The translation of Hwui-li's life of the great Chinese traveller and Saint Hiuen Tsiang, is intended to supplement the *History of the Travels of Hiuen Tsiang* already published by the same enterprising firm. The disciple begins in the true Chinese manner with a grand pedigree of his hero, tracing his descent from the mythical Heavenly Emperor. Here and there we have glimpses of his outward appearance as boy and man. We are told that "at his opening life he was rosy as the evening vapours and round as the rising moon." Again he comes before us as "a tall handsome man with beautiful eyes and a good complexion. He had a serious but benevolent expression and a sedate, rather stately manner." From a child he had outstripped his fellows in the pursuit of knowledge. Imperfect translations from Sanskrit, the limited intelligence of the Chinese priesthood, the sense of vast truths dimly perceived, the leaven of his first Confucian training—all contributed to the making of Buddhist pilgrim. There can be no more interesting reading than that afforded to the historical reader by this record of the great Chinese pilgrim's travels leaving to posterity the impressions of what he saw and what he inferred from his surroundings. The introduction gives an interesting summary of the names and achievements of other Chinese pilgrims after Hiuen Tsiang as mentioned by I-tsing; and for an index of proper names occurring in the work the student is referred to the second volume of the *Records of the Western World*. Altogether this book is a most notable addition to "Trübner's Oriental Series" and the enterprise of the publishers deserves acknowledgment.

"In this year when for the first time in history a British Emperor visits India, it seems very appropriate to publish a work showing the appearance and uniforms of the present day Indian Army, the types of those of the past, accompanied by a short history of the races so depicted. At the Durbar most, if not all, of these races will be present at the review to be held on the historical plain of Paniput, so often drenched with the best fighting blood of the East"—so say Messrs. Adam and Charles Black in the "publisher's note" accompanying a copy of their book, *The Armies of India*. The work, which is the joint production of Majors A. C. Lovett, Gloucestershire Regiment, and G. F. MacMunn, D. S. O., R. F. A., treats of the Armies of India (including the Imperial Service Troops) from the day of John Company down to present times, Major MacMunn being responsible for the text and Major Lovett for the charming pictures and drawings that illustrate the former officer's interesting narrative. The book is published in two editions: an edition de luxe, limited to 500 copies and priced at 2 guineas; and an ordinary edition which, though less pretentious in appearance than the edition de luxe, will be found well worth the outlay of 20 shillings required for the purchase of a copy. The "foreword," contributed by Lord Roberts, pays a tribute to the excellence of

both officer's work. "Major MacMunn's masterly review of the methods by which the existing army has attained its present state of perfection will," says his lordship, "greatly help to a proper understanding for the necessity of carefully studying the varying characteristics of the several Indian races; while the admirable illustrations by Major Lovett clearly depict the fine physical types we have in our Indian soldiers. For these reasons I cordially recommend this book to all who are interested in the welfare and prosperity of our great Indian Army—more particularly to all officers of the British and Indian services whose duty must constantly bring them into contact with troops." The book is well adapted to the end it has in view.

An Account of My Life, by H. H. Nawab Sultan Jahan Begum, G. C. S. I., G. C. I. E., translated by C. H. Payne (Murray, London), is a remarkable work. A particular interest attaches to this book, for in all India there are few personalities more interesting than H. H. the Begum of Bhopal. In a land where some would have us believe that all women are slaves, one of the most able and enlightened rulers is a woman. The book is to take the reader behind the *purdah* and show him something of the life in a princely zenana. It is also a history of Bhopal during the reign of the Begum and describes the relations of her State with the Imperial Government. Women have ruled in the East before, and now-a-days we are not unfamiliar with Indian authoresses, but a combination of the two is rare—if not unique.

The Criminal and the Community, by Mr. James Devon, Medical Officer of H. M. Prison at Glasgow (John Lane, London), is very interesting reading. Many books on penology have a blue-book manner, and weary one with tabular statements and sage conclusions. Dr. Devon is a man of the world; he has had many years of experience; he has faith in human nature; he speaks kindly of offenders; he tries to excuse rather than accuse; and he has abundant common sense. Hence this volume on crime, heredity, insanity, drink, poverty, sexual influences, prisons, inebriate homes, etc., teems with homely and forcible observations and is illumined with good humour. He condemns flogging and the death penalty. Indeed, he condemns every irrational and inhuman practice. The manly and practical style of the book is highly gratifying, and we hope the reforms advocated by Dr. Devon will soon be realised.

Rai Bahadur Dr. A. Mitra, Minister of Education, Kashmir, has brought out a small booklet on the existing arts and industries in Kashmir. Though the pamphlet covers only twenty pages, it touches upon almost every form of art and industry still extant in the country. The contents are quite interesting and may very well serve the purpose of a small hand-book on the arts of Kashmir. It contains all that a traveller of an enquiring mind may want to know regarding the craft and industry of the people living in the Happy Valley. Three photographs are attached to the book to illustrate a few specimens of shawl work and wood-carving. A concise but interesting historical sketch of the shawl-weaving industry has been given with considerable success. Many authentic quotations have been made to show that the Kashmir shawls were famous and well-known from the remotest antiquity.

There is considerable interest in the announcement that Mr. Harold Cox is to succeed Mr. Arthur Eliot as editor of the *Edinburgh Review*, the change taking place after the April issue. Mr. Cox should certainly be able to maintain

the traditions of the *Review* for independence of outlook, and since he is largely lost to politics by the impossibility of his accepting the programme of any one party, his true place would seem to be in the journalism and literature in which he first made his mark. A Cambridge man, Mr. Cox, was for a time an extension lecturer for his University and for two years professor of mathematics at Aligarh, but he ultimately found his way into journalism, and from that into politics when fiscal matters became a burning issue. In Parliament he quickly established a place of his own, largely as a critic of the Government which he had been returned to support.

Messrs. Thacker Spink and Co., have just published a picture of Their Imperial Majesties King-Emperor George and Queen Empress Mary, taken immediately before Their Majesties started for the Durbar at Delhi. It is especially interesting in view of the fact that it is the only picture that was taken of Their Majesties in their Coronation Robes during the recent tour. The photograph was taken by Ernest Brooks, the King's photographer and the photogravure has been prepared by the Survey Department of the Government of India. The picture is published at the popular price of Re. 1 a copy.

Short Stories by "Kusika" is a pamphlet (office of the *Hindu*, Madras) with a brief introduction by Mr. S. Kasturiranga Iyengar. The stories are well written and form delightful reading. They deal with the pernicious customs in vogue among Hindus and the difficulties a young educated girl is exposed to in her husband's house ruled by an old querulous autocratic mother-in-law. The age of marriage, the extravagant expenditure, the enforced present of thousands or hundreds to the bridegroom for the honour he does to the father-in-law of marrying his daughter and leaving her to be ill-treated by his unkind mother; and the disastrous consequences of these customs and practices are told in telling language. The *Short Stories* are really calculated to turn even orthodox Hindus into reformers, and we commend the booklet to the Hindus.

Mr. Khazan Singh, Revenue Assistant, Gurdaspur (The Panjab) is shortly going to bring out in two volumes, covering about 1,000 pages octavo, the *Philosophic History of the Sikh Religion*. The book is cheaply priced at Rs. 7. Volume I contains the first part of the book and consists of nineteen chapters. It deals with the lives of the ten Gurus and Banda Bahadur, with the history of the Sikh Confederacies and the Maharaja Ranjit Singh and his successors up to the annexation of the Punjab by the British Government. This will give the reader a full and correct account of the rise and fall of the Khalsa power in all its historical aspects. Volume II will comprise the second part of this book, and will consist of 16 chapters which relate to the philosophical side of the tenets of the Sikh Religion, with copious quotations from its scriptures. It will also include in an appendix, in Gurmukhi characters, the hymns quoted in the body of the book in Roman characters. Various points of interest and importance which have long been misunderstood, have been thoroughly sifted and fully explained. Intending purchasers should register their orders with the author, in advance, as only a limited number of copies will be struck off.

Yet another useful collection of papers from the enterprising firm of Messrs. Natesan and Co., of Madras, called *The Deperessed Classes*. The contributors are some of the most distinguished reformers and public men in the country and what they have said on this most complex subject is well worth perusal. At a time when the problem of the reclamation of these classes is exercising the public mind, the book under notice is bound to prove very useful. It is excellently got-up and has a very attractive exterior, quite in keeping with the neat printing of the text. We congratulate Messrs. Natesan once again on their enterprise in producing a regular series of useful books on Indian subjects.

IN THE PUBLIC EYE : YUAN-SHI-KAI: THE PRESIDENT OF THE CHINESE REPUBLIC.

SINCE the death of Li Hung Chang, the last great Conservative Statesman of China, Yuan-Shi-Kai has been head and shoulders above any other leading man in China in ability.

Li Hung Chang died on November 27th, 1901. He died the richest man in China, perhaps the richest man in the world, and his titles were continued to his descendants throughout forty generations. The effect of Li Hung Chang's statecraft was to leave the Emperor and the Empress-Dowager outcasts from their capital and from their throne, to place the hated foreigners in the ancestral halls of the Sons of Heaven.

Some three years before, in 1898, an obscure Honanese, unlettered and unhonoured by his compatriots, who had held no higher post than that of Chinese Resident-General in Korea, appeared upon the stage of national politics with altogether unexpected effect. In the days of his brief enjoyment of Imperial power, the young Emperor of China listened to the counsels of the Reformers, sought to give effect to the teachings of the West, and promulgated edicts which shook official China to its vitals. He looked for the protection of his person, and the execution of his commands, to the Honanese soldier, Yuan-Shi-Kai. Yuan had trained a force of some five thousand men according to the methods of the West, had fed them, and clothed them, and paid them their wages in good coin.

When Li Hung Chang was faced with the war with Japan he levied an army of coolies, undisciplined and badly armed, sent them into the rigours of a northern winter without clothing and without boots, then marvelled that they found it more agreeable to run away than to remain and be killed by the enemy. Yuan-Shi-Kai remembered what General Gordon had demonstrated—that the Chinaman, when properly paid to fight, is as reliable a soldier as any the world produces. He commanded the only efficient force in China.

When, therefore, the Empress-Dowager arranged her *coup d'etat* of September 22nd, 1898, the fate of the Empire depended upon Yuan-Shi-Kai and his force of trained troops. The Emperor confidently looked to them for aid, but Yuan had measured the weakness of the Son of Heaven, and had realized the strength of the Empress-Dowager. He threw in his lot with her and sealed the doom of Kwang Su. From that date such gratitude as lurks in the Oriental breast belonged to him of right for his support of the Empress-Dowager in her Palace revolution. Conversely, and more certainly, was the hatred of the Emperor his portion, should that monarch ever regain power in the Empire over which he had been

anointed king. In those days, when he was manœuvring for power, Yuan risked much on the turn of a card.

It was the same in 1900 when the lives of the foreigners in Tientsin and in Peking depended upon the attitude of the Honanese and his troops. Yuan was ordered to advance and take part in the attack upon the foreign concessions in Tientsin. To obey was to incur the sure revenge of the allies. To disobey was to lose the favour of his Imperial mistress. Yuan did neither. He advanced his troops at the rate of a mile a day, avoided conflict with the foreigners, and escaped the wrath of the Empress-Dowager. Later, when the Empress-Dowager realized the doom to which Yuan's implication by her direct command in the Boxer rising most certainly would have exposed her, she became the active patron of the Viceroy of Chi-li.

In the four years of China's endeavour after rehabilitation from the effects of the Boxer rising and the punitive expeditions of the Powers, Yuan-Shi-Kai rose to the first place in the Empire, endowed with power never previously wielded by a subject, his will paramount in China.

In those four years he organized an army that was the wonder and the admiration of foreign critics witnessing the manœuvre. He successfully combated the caste objections to military service which had marked the Chinese aristocracy from its earliest civilization, so that now the sons of the nobility deem it their greatest pride to appear abroad in uniform. He broke down the entire traditional scheme of education, and substituted modern text-books and modern examinations for the classics and the tests which had existed during two thousand years. He forced the abolition of torture in the examination and punishment of criminals. He provided the capital with roads and avenues that compare with the most modern in Europe, until the European-controlled Legation-street is the worst-kept main-street in Peking. He constructed public offices in Peking that would do credit to any European State. He wrenched the control of the Customs from the hands of the Powers and placed it in the keeping of his most trusted subordinates. He conducted the *post-bellum* conference with the Japanese and preserved his country's dignity and privileges in the difficult position created by the Russo-Japanese War. He settled the Tibet question with Great Britain, and repealed the traditional rights of Viceroys by sending his own nominees to investigate the massacres of missionaries and to punish the guilty in provinces over which he exercises no nominal control. He laid the basis for constitutional Government in China.

When Yuan-Shi-Kai was testing the limits of his powers, he found himself seriously obstructed by the machinations of the Palace functionaries. His principal enemy was Li, the unscrupulous chief eunuch. From the Dowager-Empress, the Viceroy obtained leave to remove the favourite from office, but the dismissal was none too easily managed. Li had friends

throughout the Forbidden City whose interests were identical with his, and grave trouble was anticipated at the end of February. On Sunday, February 25th, the chief eunuch was removed. Yuan patrolled the streets of Peking with his troops armed with rifles and fixed bayonets, quadrupled his guards over the Imperial City, and even then was unable to save the Empress from a sacrilegious insult. Some unknown miscreant threw a shoe at the Dowager Empress from a palace window, and for weeks the Imperial family lived in dread of their action at sanctioning the dismissal of Li. However, Yuan attained his purpose, the bad influence of the Chief Eunuch was removed from Court, and rapidly succeeding reforms were the result.

Last, and most impressive, of these reforms was the edict announcing the abolition of the traffic in opium within ten years. Yuan has always been a bitter enemy of the opium trade. He refused to permit anyone attached to his person to take opium, and has summarily discharged all officers from his army and all officials from his service whom he found addicted to the habit. With such a man in power the probability is that the period of grace will be curtailed rather than lengthened, and China released from the bondage of the narcotic even sooner than its well-wishers now expect.

At the end of four years the Dowager Empress fearing the increasing influence of Yuan-Shi-Kai and that he had designs on the Throne carried out a *coup d'état* and removed him from the command of the Northern Army. In 1907 she again found the need for his strong hand, however, and he was restored to power. After her death he was once more dismissed, but when the revolution broke out, the Throne once more sent for him to come to its assistance, with what result is now seen.

Like all Chinese officials he possesses a large domestic establishment, in which, however, wives and concubines are in equal strength. A hard worker, and keeping in touch with Western thought by the aid of interpreters and translators, the obligations of his position impose upon him considerable state. Troops are everywhere in his yamen, and a private telegraph service links him to the Imperial palace, so that he has direct communication with the Imperial family. As men go, Yuan-Shi-Kai is young, but, unlike his predecessor, he is neither a gentleman by birth, nor a scholar by education. His position to-day, therefore, is unique, and he may be described as the very antithesis of Li Hung Chang, who, in every way, was a type of the Chinese aristocrat.

In appearance, Yuan-Shi-Kai is short, thick set and vigorous, with the neck of a bull, and the complexion of a peasant. Full blooded, practical, and ambitious, he is thoroughly opposed to the academic traditions of his race. Affable to foreigners, he squeezes them as one squeezes an orange, and having extracted their essence, has no further use for them. Although his knowledge of the Occident is second-hand, and he has never been out of China, Yuan-Shi-Kai has a shrewd discriminating comprehension of the value of European improvements. At the same time, he stands on the policy of China for the Chinese, and, in encouraging the exclusion of the West, he anticipates cheerfully enough the day when China no longer will be dependent upon the foreigner.

TOPIC OF THE DAY.

HIGH PRICES AND AN INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION.

THE interesting announcement that a movement is on foot to secure the appointment of an official International Commission to grapple with the problem of the high cost of living is an indication of the world-wide interest that has been taken in the subject. The proposal has emanated from America and has received the support of the leading economists, editors, financiers and statesmen in all parts of the world. Among the prominent men who have endorsed the proposal are Professor Marshall, Dr. Keynes, Professor Edgeworth and Professor Price in England, Mons. Guyot and Professor Lefoy-Beaulieu in France, Professor Bohm-Bawerk and Dr. Meyer in Austria, Drs. Schmoller and Van der Borcht in Germany, and Professors Taussig and Fisher in America. It has also received sympathetic consideration at the hands of President Taft, who in a message transmitted to Congress, a few weeks ago, remarked :—

There has been a strong movement among economists, business-men and others interested in economic investigation to secure the appointment of an international commission to look into the cause for the high prices of the necessities of life. There is no doubt but that a commission could be appointed of such unprejudiced and impartial persons, experts in investigation of economic facts, that a great deal of very valuable light could be shed upon the reasons for the high prices that have so distressed the people of the world, and information given upon which action might be taken to reduce the cost of living. The very satisfactory report of the Railway Stock and Bonds Commission indicates how useful an investigation of this kind can be when undertaken by men who have had adequate experience in economic inquiries and a level-headedness and judgment correctly to apply sound principles to the facts found. For some years past the high and steadily increasing cost of living has been a matter of such grave public concern that I deem it of great public interest that an international conference be proposed at this time for the purpose of preparing plans, to be submitted to the various Governments, for an international inquiry into the high cost of living, its extent, causes, effects and possible remedies. I therefore recommend that, to enable the President to invite foreign Governments to such a conference, to be held at Washington or elsewhere, the congress provide an appropriation, not to exceed \$20,000, to defray the expenses of preparation and of participation by the United States.

During the past few years there has been an enormous output of literature on the subject,—in statistical works and journals, in popular magazines and newspapers, and in official reports. The

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International Statistical Institute, consisting chiefly of the world's official statisticians, is also engaged in an international study of price movements and several Governments have undertaken, or have attempted to undertake, studies on this subject, in so far as the price movements affect their respective countries. A few attempts at international comparisons have been made in England and America, but the results are meagre and confined to a very few countries. No attempt on any large scale, however, has hitherto been made by any individual, public body or Government, to apply the comparative method which is so necessary in studying prices; and this constitutes perhaps the strongest argument in favour of internationalising the investigation. Prices in any given country are affected by given considerations, of course. When it is sought to compare them with prices in other countries not only these local influences tend to distort the conclusions, but the fact that it is very hard to get uniform statistics on prices representing the same articles sold under the same conditions in all countries is found to be a serious difficulty. That means that comparisons are even more faulty than they need to be, so that the local influences such as tariffs, selling systems, etc., cannot be allowed for even to the extent that would be possible if data were gathered on a uniform basis. Moreover, no figures are now available for the silver standard countries and none for those using the paper standard. If some basis of common quotation could be arrived at, and an index number established, country by country, a great deal better results could, it is anticipated, be secured than are at all possible to-day. The idea of officialising the Commission may be open to some objections, but it must be conceded that no private person or institution can afford to make the necessary investigation in all the great countries of the world. Besides, the requisite funds for so broad a study will not be forthcoming unless an "official" basis is secured for the movement.

The objects of the proposed Commission, briefly stated, are—firstly, to gather all available facts as to recent changes in wages, cost of living and prices throughout the world, and to make international comparisons; secondly, to secure evidence as to the main causes of these changes and of international differences; and thirdly, to discuss possible remedies. The price statistics hitherto published are very limited in scope and are not fitted to indicate the price movements of the civilised world. Such index-numbers of prices as have been published are usually confined to the wholesale prices, and in all cases cover only a small part of the

field, of general prices and wages even where the statistics are of the best as in the United States, England and Germany. Moreover, these index-numbers are constructed by different methods in different places and in consequence are not mutually comparable. Thus a recent attempt of the Board of Trade in England to compare its index-numbers of prices for "foods and materials" with corresponding statistics elsewhere required a re-classification of the latter by which certain commodities were introduced, others omitted, and still others transferred from "food" to "materials" and *vice versa*. A complete study of the facts would, in the opinion of Professor Fisher, who has prepared the draft Memorandum, afford a general view of the differences between different countries and times so far as concerns (a) the purchasing power of the dollar or other monetary unit; (b) purchasing power of incomes, especially wages.

So far as the causes are concerned, the problems which the Commission will have to face are two-fold; (a) to explain the fall in the purchasing power of the monetary unit; and (b) to explain the changes in the total purchasing power of incomes, especially wages. The first problem (a) is that of the rise of prices and will resolve into two parts: (i) a study of money and (2) a study of goods. The former will include a study of the production of gold, the extension of credit through the use of cheques, uncovered bank notes, modern methods of endorsement, underwriting, etc., and the velocity of circulation of money; the latter will include a study of the conditions of production, transportation, and the volume of trade in respect to agricultural, mining and industrial products. The second problem (b) is that of the factors influencing the world's supply of food and other commodities which bear upon the great mass of consumers, as well as changes in standards of expenditure, concentration of population in cities, and all other factors which affect the people in their capacity as consumers.

And finally, as regards the remedies, the Commission, we are told, will set itself to elucidate (a) the problem of preventing changes in the purchasing power of the monetary unit, as for instance through monetary or banking legislation; and (b) the problem of increasing, or at any rate of preventing any decrease in, the total purchasing power of wages, by combating mal-nutrition and the decay of industrial efficiency. Those chiefly interested in the project of the Commission do not agree on any remedy or remedies. They are, it is stated, agreed merely on the importance of the questions involved. The Commission would not, of course, be authorised to bind the various nations represented to the adoption of any plans that might be recommended. It would simply aim to express the best unbiassed scientific conclusions which they may find from a more complete study of facts than has hitherto been made. We in this country who have been keenly feeling the effects of the rise in prices, shall watch the proceedings and the results of the Commission with lively interest.

THE OPEN FORUM :

CRITICISMS, DISCUSSIONS & COMMENTS.

The Depressed Classes.

IN the Bombay Gazetteer (1881) the depressed classes of Poona were described as follows :—

The depressed classes include Chambhars, Dhors, Mangs, and Mahars. They live in dirty huts outside of the town. They are idle, dishonest, given to drinking, thieving, and telling lies. Both men and women are of loose morals, and husbands and wives are changed at will. Of Mahars some are in the native army, some are domestic servants to Europeans, some are day labourers, and some are sweepers. Labourers and scavengers begging for remains of dishes served at dinner and for a morsel of food will remain crying at doors for hours together. Chambhars make shoes, Dhors tan hides, and Mangs make ropes and brooms. They live in abject poverty and have scarcely any bedding beyond a blanket. They go almost naked and have no metal pots in their houses. Their women work as day labourers and do house work. They cannot read and write and seldom send their boys to the school which Government have opened for them.

Dr. Harold Mann writing in the *Hindustan Review* denies the correctness of this very unfavourable description. He says :

At least half of this description is undoubtedly incorrect now, and libellous on what is certainly a lowly and despised section of the population, but not one worthy of these remarks. Thus, they do *not*, in large proportion, live in dirty huts outside the town—some do, but these are only a portion. They are as a class *not* idle, *not* dishonest, *not* more given to drinking than some other classes and *not* specially thieves. They are *not* as a class of loose morals, but how this charge comes to be made can be explained comparatively easily. They are *not* in the abject poverty described : and so on. Some things may have changed since 1881, but much of this description was never applicable.

And Dr. Mann knows what he writes about, for he has made a systematic enquiry into the condition of the depressed classes living at Poona. He says of this enquiry :

The method of work adopted was for myself or my workers to proceed from house to house, make friends with the people, and get them to give particulars with regard to their households, their occupations, their sources of income, where they came from, and the like. As workers and assistants in my own personal investigations, I have had the exceeding good fortune to be able to employ none but members of the untouchable castes themselves, and have so obtained information which is probably more reliable than I could otherwise have got. By this means I have obtained more or less complete data, within the scope I laid down for myself, for 1,400 households, or probably at least between eighty and ninety per cent. of the total.

All praise to Dr. Mann for the work he has done. How many Indian reformers and publicists are there prepared to take similar trouble in a public cause, if we except the honourable members of the Servants of India Society? Rather, how few?—*The Leader*.

THE KAYASTHA WORLD.

MOTTO I.—“*I will be as harsh as Truth and as uncompromising as Justice ; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—I will not retreat a single inch—and I will be heard.*” (William Lloyd Garrison in the *Literator*.)

MOTTO II.—“Minds may doubt and hearts may fail when called to face new modes of thought or points of view ; but the time must come when what is false in all things will fade and what is true will no more seem strange. (From Dr. Illingworth's *Reason and Revelation*.)

A Journalistic Reunion.

AN interesting and enjoyable journalistic re-union took place at the Calcutta Club on Saturday night when the Hon. Mr. S. Sinha, of the Imperial Legislative Council, entertained European and Indian representatives of the press in Calcutta at dinner. This is the second year in which Mr. Sinha has been the host at a similar function. The after-dinner proceedings were informal, the toasts being spontaneous and the speeches mostly in the lighter vein. Among the speakers were Messrs. I. A. Jones, A. J. Fraser Blair, S. A. Raja, Mohamed Ali, B. G. Horniman and the Hon. Mr. S. Sinha. The health of the host was cordially honoured and the hope was expressed that in spite of the removal of the Imperial Council, he would find time to visit Calcutta in future years and take part in similar gatherings.—The *Statesman*.

One of the indirect results of the transfer of the capital—“thus great effects from little causes spring”—is not unlikely to be the abrupt cessation of the “Press Dinners,” which under the genial “doyen”-ship of the Hon. Mr. S. Sinha, editor of the *Hindustan Review*, had begun to be quite a feature of the festivities of the seasonal gaieties of Calcutta. But Mr. Sinha is likely to oscillate in future between Delhi, Allahabad and Bankipore, to the total exclusion of Calcutta, and as he originated the Press Dinner, and has on two occasions sumptuously acted the part of host and president at it, so on his departure the omens are that this bright spot in the desert of the Calcutta journalistic year will vanish into nothingness. These reflections did not, however, disturb the hilarity of the twenty pressmen who sat down at Mr. Sinha's hospitable entertainment at the Calcutta Club on Saturday night. It was a most convivial gathering, and the flow of soul followed upon the feast of reason in due course. Mr. Jones, whose appointment as Toastmaster-General to the Government and Public of Bengal, has not yet been gazetted, proposed the health of the Chairman, and eulogized his efforts to bring pressmen together. He also commiserated Mr. Sinha upon the prospect of spending the remainder of his official life in Delhi and concluded by uttering a lament over the absence of all journalistic names from the honours list. Mr. Sinha, in responding, dwelt upon the importance of harmony and concurring the journalistic family, and expressed his regret that his departure from Calcutta would render it impossible for him to preside at another such banquet in Calcutta. He trusted, however, that the press dinner would not be altogether intermitted, and that if it were organised next year, he would be happy to come from Delhi, Bankipore, or

wherever he might be, to attend it (applause). On Mr. Sinha resuming his seat the speech making became general, Mr. Raja and Mr. Horniman both taking Mr. Jones to task for suggesting that the journalist should look to the Government for rewards and decorations. Mr. Horniman warned Mr. Jones against launching on the steep and labourious path which led to the K. C. I. E., lest after a lifetime of agonized effort he should find himself with nothing but a Kaiser-i-Hind medal to show for it! Mr. Horniman joined the other speakers in recognizing the admirable spirit which has prompted Mr. Sinha's hospitality and which he has endeavoured to infuse into his brother journalists. He suggested that a press club should be formed, but this proposal was not further discussed and the gathering separated after spending a very enjoyable evening.

—*The Empire.*

The Hon'ble Mr. Sachidananda Sinha gave his annual Press Dinner at the Calcutta Club on Saturday. Twenty-seven Pressmen representing every phase of Calcutta Journalism (Anglo-Indian and Indian) responded to Mr. Sinha's courteous invitation to a function which, in spite of the impending changes, bids fair to become an annual and a most popular function. Following last year's precedent, a number of impromptu toasts were proposed and responded to in light, lively vein. The effect of the Delhi changes on the Calcutta press was much canvassed as also the niggardly manner in which the Government recognises the claims of Pressmen to a place in the Honours List. It would have been singular if the post prandial oratory had not been marked by expressions of "contemporary opinion," which gained in vigour what they lacked in unanimity. Altogether it was a most enjoyable function and the Pressmen for once were at one in felicitating Mr. Sinha on his lavish hospitality and the excellent spirit in which he conceived this journalistic reunion, the second of the kind held under his genial auspices.—*The Indian Daily News.*

Mr. S. Sinha, Member for Bihar in the Imperial Legislative Council and Editor of the *Hindustan Review*, gave a dinner to local journalists at the Calcutta Club on Saturday. Last year he did the same, and we grieve to think that the repartition of Bengal will deprive us of so charming a host next year. There was much said on Saturday of the unedifying disunion of Calcutta journalists, and more than one passionate appeal was made for a better understanding. They sounded very well after Mr. Sinha's cheerful hospitality; but next morning with soda water for *chota hazri* they had no point at all. They used to have a saying in Ireland that if you put an Irishman on a spit you could get ten to turn him. *Mutatis mutandis* this applies to the journalists of Calcutta, for the simple reason that they can never tear themselves away from "shop." It colours all their views, it influences their loves and hatreds. All this argues an exaggerated *nimak-khya* loyalty, which however admirable, does not make for good fellowship and frater-feeling. The guests at Mr. Sinha's dinner went as near quarrelling as the partisans in the Calcutta Parliament; a Press Club in Calcutta would be a bear-garden, ballot never so carefully. The reasons are pretty obvious, but we may give the chief, want of charity and the saving grace of humour.—*Capital.*

One of the most pleasant functions of the Calcutta season is the annual press dinner given by the Hon. Mr. Sachidananda Sinha at the Calcutta Club. The press of Calcutta, English, Indian and official, was well represented at

Saturday night's function and the proceedings were enlivened by racy speeches. Mr. Sinha was profusely thanked for his hospitality, and the hope was generally expressed that notwithstanding the removal of the Government similar gatherings of the press would be possible in future.—The *Englishman*.

The last function was the Press Dinner given by the Hon'ble Mr. S. Sinha, of the *Hindustan Review* at the Calcutta Club. The gathering this year was greater than on the last occasion and was very successful. The genial and popular host deserves all the nice things that were said of him by the company and a good deal more. It speaks not a little of Mr. S. Sinha's broad-minded generosity that although not a Calcutta man himself he should come forward year after year to entertain number of Calcutta journalists who cannot be said to have many claims on him. It was a very pleasant sight to see conductors of Indian and Anglo-Indian newspapers who ordinarily do not have such to agree upon rubbing shoulders together and exchanging views in good-natured fellowship on the festive board. This sort of annual gathering is good in its way but it is not enough. We hope that an earnest and serious effort will be made to start a sort of journalists' Club in this city where all newspaper men without distinction of colour or creed could meet socially and exchange their views. All honour to the Hon'ble Mr. S. Sinha for the impetus he has given to a movement of this kind, and we trust somebody will follow it up by starting a Club such as we have suggested.—The *Indian Mirror*.

The thanks of the Press of Calcutta are due to Hon. Mr. S. Sinha, the editor of the *Hindustan Review*, who once more made this unsociable community his guest at an excellent dinner at the Calcutta Club a week ago and brought its members face to face with each other. We wonder how long Bengal and the late lamentable capital of India would permit Behar to give them a lead in such sociability and how long they would refuse to follow that lead. Instead of doing anything to remove the blot upon their escutcheon, the statesmen of Calcutta journalism still harp on the old theme of "honours where honours are not due." But like one of our journalistic chiefs and rajahs, we detest controversies and shall say no more about it, unless we find the belated compositors ready to set up three solid columns on the reasons that led Government to lop off the "K" from the title conferred on a sheriff who had the additional distinction of being a journalist. But as the compositors did not share the dinner and its usual accompaniments, they are not disposed to appreciate our long-windedness. We therefore stop, only repeating once more our sincere hope that it will not be necessary for the mandarins of Calcutta journalism to be inoculated with a Delhi boil or the virus of a Delhi cobra to become really human and sociable. To Mr. Sinha, our thanks once more.—The *Comrade*.

Last year, the Hon'ble Mr. S. Sinha inaugurated a very useful movement to bring the Indian and Anglo-Indian journalists of Calcutta together by inviting them to a Press Dinner at the Calcutta Club. The usefulness of such a social function in promoting friendly relations between the Indian and Anglo-Indian Press cannot be over-estimated. Following the happy precedent created by him last year, Mr. Sinha was again a host at the Press Dinner in the Calcutta Club on the 23rd evening to his Indian and Anglo-Indian fellow-journalists. All the leading Anglo-Indian papers of Calcutta were fully represented at this function, but it is to be regretted that the Indian Press of Calcutta did not respond to the invitation so enthusiastically as they should have

done. From the speeches delivered by Messrs. Jones, Sandbrook, Blair, Mohamed Ali, Raja and others, it was clear that they sincerely appreciated the public-spiritedness shown by the Hon'ble Mr. Sinha in affording them the opportunity to meet as fellow-journalists. Among the toasts proposed, we are gratified to find that the *Beharee* was also included, and most friendly wishes were expressed for its success in its enlarged sphere of work. Altogether, the function passed off very smoothly, the band in attendance enhancing the general amusement of the occasion.—The *Beharee*.

Mr. Maheshwar Prasad and "The Beharee."

As announced elsewhere, Mr. Maheshwar Prasad of the Muir Central College, Allahabad, has resigned his appointment here and taken up the editorship of the *Beharee* of Bankipore, the first issue of which, as a daily, will appear on the date on which the Hon'ble Sir Charles Bayley—the Lieutenant-Governor of Behar and Orissa—arrives at the capital of the new province. Professor Maheshwar Prasad had been in Allahabad for nearly eighteen years as a student and teacher and had endeared himself to a large circle of friends, whose esteem and confidence he had won, by reason of his qualifications, character and temperament. That he was a capable teacher was borne out by the fact that Principal Jennings gave an "At Home" in his honour on the eve of his departure, and the students organized a demonstration and presented to him an address, speaking of his work and worth in the most eulogistic terms. He is a man of scholarly attainments and is thoroughly versed in English literature, History and Economics. He has also considerable experience of journalism and was for many years associated in the conduct of the *Hindustan Review* and the *Indian People*. As a *Beharee*, he is *au courant* with the men, measures and problems of Behar, in the fortunes and public affairs of which he has ever taken a deep and abiding interest. Altogether, it would be difficult to think of any *Beharee* who is so well qualified for filling the editorial chair of the new daily as Professor Maheshwar Prasad, and the mantle of the late lamented, Mr. Mahesh Narayan, the founder-editor of the *Beharee*, could have scarcely fallen on worthier shoulders than his. We congratulate the Directors of the Bankipore Journal on the "haul," they have made in the net they cast for catching hold of an editor, for they could have hardly made a better choice. In resigning a high post under Government to take up private service, with a view to be able to serve his people, Mr. Maheshwar Prasad has displayed rare patriotism, and his conduct is bound to raise the level of public spirit in Behar. Though his removal to Bankipore is a loss to the United Provinces and particularly to Allahabad, it is distinctly Behar's gain, and in that view we do not grudge it. We wish him every success in his new career, in which, we are confident, he will achieve not only success but distinction.

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THE FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW.

NOVEMBER, 1909.

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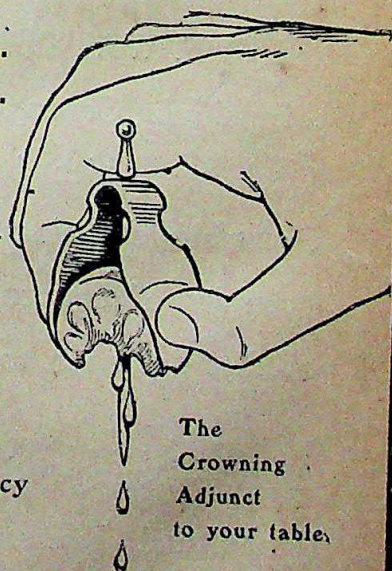
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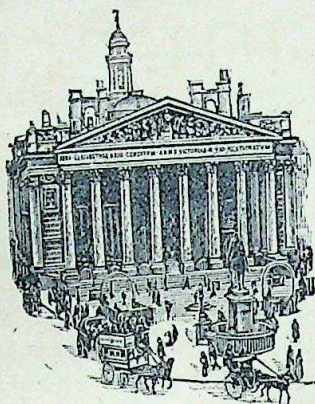
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THE FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW.

No. DXV. NEW SERIES, NOVEMBER 1, 1909.

IMPERIAL AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS: A REVIEW OF EVENTS.

The End of a Dream.

THE last few weeks have taught one hard but wholesome lesson, and there is an end of the more foolish theory of Anglo-American relations. In case of conflict between Germany and ourselves under any conditions that can at present be foreseen, the utmost we can expect from the United States is neutrality. Far-seeing American thinkers may perceive that a nearer relation between the Mother Island and the Republic would be desirable even now from the standpoint of American interests. It is inconceivable that the United States could stand idly by while the seas joining all the shores of the English-speaking world passed under a foreign domination. That danger, did it ever mature, would in the long run drive all the English-speaking communities together. This ultimate consideration, however, does not yet enter in any tangible way into practical politics. It is excluded from the problem for the purposes of the next few years, and the important point is to show that if sea-power and Empire are to be preserved through the decade before us, we in this country must realise the harsh truth that we depend solely upon ourselves.

Limits of American Friendship.

These reflections are prompted by the exuberant speech delivered by Lord Charles Beresford before the Pilgrims' Club at New York. The United States, in effect, were asked for aid against Germany. The appeal, generously applauded at the banquet table, fell flat next day. It was received in the American Press at large with general coldness, much ridicule, and considerable hostility. Again and again we have shown the uselessness of addressing ourselves to the United States against

Germany. We hope that these appeals will never be repeated in anything like existing circumstances by any responsible man. Nothing more injurious to the cause of Anglo-American friendship could be imagined. They lead to nothing but loss of breath and dignity on our side. While they only embarrass those who wish us well under the Stars and Stripes, they lend additional influence to all who wish us evil. What was the answer to Lord Charles Beresford? We in this country were reminded of certain facts which cannot be too clearly realised. Among the oldest and strongest elements of the American people we have good friends. Their friendship is a rooted, a reasoned, and a permanent thing; and sooner or later it will count for something, and may count for much in settling the world's destinies. But let us be clear that this is the feeling of a powerful minority, and that in the United States minorities do not govern. The elements which are Irish and German in descent and sympathy—and now work more and more closely together as Professor Schiemann reminds us nearly every week in the *Kreuz Zeitung*—claim to be a majority. If not absolutely that, they are near a moiety of the white population. As for the other races—Scandinavian, Slav, Italian—they speak English for purely personal and American reasons. That fact carries with it, as a rule, not a tinge of definite sympathy with this country, and not a trace of decided preference.

A Policy of Interests.

Whether we like it or not, that is the real situation. There is a large friendly minority in the United States; there is another but hostile minority as large and perhaps larger; there is a third element which is neutral or fluctuating in its sentiments upon the Anglo-American question, but is probably more affected by the hostile Press than by friendly opinion. If we examine this issue with realism we shall see at once how easy it is to misrepresent present appeals for Anglo-American friendship. Do we expect America to help us in maintaining British naval supremacy upon terms of reduced cost and limited liability? Such favourable conditions of national existence are no longer granted by fate to mortals. Whatever action or neutrality may be preferred by the United States will be dictated, not by good feeling or otherwise, but by considerations of what is called good business. And, above all, let us be certain of this fundamental principle—that American money will be spent and American efforts made for American account. Without the slightest disturbance of the goodwill with which we ourselves regard the United States, let us cast off once for all the pernicious and futile dream that the Republic will ever be induced to play for sentimental reasons and for our benefit the

part of "a brilliant second." In that direction we have at present just nothing to expect; and the more we realise the whole severity and significance of that strengthening thought, the better it will be.

The American Attitude towards Germany.

If any change should come about, the moral situation will only be altered upon American initiative. Any attempt upon our part, direct or indirect, to mobilise the American mind against Germany must necessarily appear an utterly crude and egoistic manœuvre. It can only create an effect the reverse of what we desire. The ordinary man under the Stars and Stripes is made not more sympathetic, but more suspicious and more sceptical, by appeals to him on behalf of the Anglo-Saxon idea. If that idea means the maintenance of British supremacy partly at American expense, it is an idea which will continue to leave the majority of the American people perfectly cold. The whole of this psychological situation is unsatisfactory in the extreme, and we have repeatedly called attention to it. American hostility to England is less than it was before the Cuban war. But the force of positive friendship for this country is also less. In the last few years there has come about a reaction in Germany's favour almost as strong as the opposite reaction against Japan. Berlin has not quite, as it once rather prematurely hoped, won everything at Washington, but the *Wilhelmstrasse* has reason to be proud of its successes. But there are signs of another movement. The closest students of affairs across the Atlantic are beginning to understand what the Hohenzollern and Hapsburg alliance means. They perceive that it represents an armed combination with which nothing else in the world can compare. Americans realise that if Germany ever won the mastery of the sea, it might not be so easy for either English-speaking Power to get it back. The Monroe Doctrine and the security of the Panama Canal might prove to be worth just nothing if the immense military resources of the German Empire once secured full maritime mobility. The United States would have its naval strength divided between two oceans. German naval strength would be concentrated in one. The possible consequences need not be pointed out. It is essential that Americans should be left to think out the matter for themselves, and that responsible persons in this country should make no attempt to prejudice the process of reflection. There are, of course, certain Anglophobe manœuvres which we must watch vigilantly and repel with promptitude. Several influential German newspapers and magazines, with the *Kreuz Zeitung* at their head, make it their steady

object to sow discord between England and the United States, and these assiduous mischief-makers do their work with a great deal of malevolent ingenuity. Efforts of that kind must be occasionally answered; but for the rest, let us show scrupulous common-sense, sincerity, and reserve in this matter, leaving the American mind to follow its own thoughts and to come to its own conclusions. If there is no cause for complacent optimism, there is as little for morbid fear that Washington statesmanship will be made the cat's-paw of German projects. The Quadruple Entente, completed by the Tsar's visit to King Victor at Racconigi, will not be without its effect in deciding which way the balance of sympathies in the United States shall gradually incline. American intentions in this controversy will ripen, but they will not ripen in a hurry; and they will be determined by the general American view of American interests, and by nothing else.

Self-Reliance as a Mode of Salvation.

We in these islands will gain infinitely in moral strength if we but cease our constant speculations upon every sort of external assistance, and return with a clear mind to the definite certainty that we must fight our own battles for ourselves in the old way. In the exposed position of Germany on land we find the true secret of the thoroughness of Teutonic organisation. Every country possessing a system of national military service, and as much naval power also as it can simultaneously afford, knows that no system of alliances can be a substitute for the fullest development of its own strength. We have never departed from that view without repenting our error. No political idea was more absurd and dangerous than the delusion which persisted up to a decade ago that Germany might conceivably be induced to help us against Russia. The speculation upon Russian help against Germany is equally absurd. We must render fully equivalent services to our friends; we must help them on land as effectually as we would like their action, directly or indirectly, to help us at sea; we must conclude hard-and-fast engagements upon a basis of the full military as well as naval power required to support them; we must enter into definite alliances and take all the resulting risks and responsibilities. We must do all these things before the happy extension of our diplomatic friendships gives us anything like a corresponding increase of political security. If Germany had neglected her own armaments in dependence upon her partners in the Triplice, where would she have been to-day? The increase of her own forces has ensured for her diplomatic connections, an effectiveness they would not otherwise have possessed. Let us but rely to the utmost upon our own exertions, let us but develop our

own inherent strength by land and sea—as we, no less than Germany and Japan, must do if we mean to live—and all other things shall be added unto us. Let us once place the Fleet upon the unassailable basis of two-keels-to-one as against the strongest European Power, and we can refrain equally from futile verbiage directed against Germany and from ignominious appeals addressed to the United States. For quite different reasons our relations with both one and the other will begin definitely to improve when we show self-respecting good sense even in our friendships, as well as dignity with tenacity in our antagonisms.

President Taft and the New Tariff.

The United States, as a matter of fact, is engrossed with exceptional completeness in its own affairs. The fiscal controversy being once more settled for the time, there are again the most unmistakable signs of another term of prodigious prosperity. That is so far good, as business will improve in sympathy with American conditions more or less throughout the world. President Taft, in the course of his "13,000 miles tour," has made a series of speeches of extraordinary candour—less direct and emphatic in manner than Mr. Roosevelt's speeches, but in essence even franker and bolder. It has been shown that, contrary to the apparent meaning and the popular interpretation of Republican campaign promises, the Payne Tariff is stiffer and more exclusive than anything before it. It undoubtedly represents a "revision upwards." It was imagined that Mr. Taft had signed it with reluctance, and that he would say something on his tour to encourage the advocates of "revision downwards." Nothing of the kind. Mr. Taft in his massive manner spoke as a man who is not merely a tariff-maker for temporary reasons of expediency, but a high Protectionist by conviction. At Winona he declared that "the Payne Bill was the best tariff ever passed by the Republican Party." Not content with this assertion, quite defensible though not necessarily persuasive, the President went on to declare that the measure represented "a substantial revision downwards." To talk of another revision during the present Congress was quite out of the question, and Mr. Taft seemed further to express the hope, not unlikely to be realised, that the new tariff, like the one before it, would be left in undisturbed operation for a decade. These unexpected sentiments were hard to swallow in the Middle West; and in a great deal of the criticism to which the Winona speech was subjected, not only in that region but throughout the Republic, irritation and disillusionment struggled with respect for a new President and with the personal

popularity that Mr. Taft enjoys wherever he appears in the course of the 13,000 miles tour.

Protection and the Business Revival.

It is probable that Mr. Taft, one of the shrewdest rulers in existence, sees further than his critics. The same complaints as are levelled against the Payne Bill have been directed against every high tariff that ever was framed. And objections to each in turn have been forgotten as American prosperity has grown and grown. The business revival across the Atlantic has only just begun. Mr. Taft's presidential term has more than three years to go. If the material progress of America is as marvellous and cumulative during that time as in previous periods of economic expansion, the tariff as a practical issue will once more fade out of American party politics. Free Trade conviction, let it be remembered, is disappearing from the industrialised South, which now wants tariffs for its own purposes, and will probably become in the end the most Protectionist part of the United States. Thus, even if the tariff were lowered, it would not be reduced below what may be called the line of protective efficiency, and the Protectionist principle in the United States exists upon a broader and firmer basis than ever. To affect not to perceive this fact is the greatest folly. Another of Mr. Taft's remarkable admissions may be added. He declared that the special tax upon corporations, an impost mild enough in itself, had been instituted to prevent the passage of an Income Tax Bill. There is no income tax in America, and Mr. Taft does not desire to see that expedient acclimatised. He holds, on this subject, views which used to be classic in this country, but have been obsolete for a generation. He thinks that this direct levy upon the earning-power of the individual ought to be reserved for times of supreme emergency. Imagination cannot help following that thought. An income tax, used in the United States as Pitt wielded it in this country, would be a financial weapon beyond all comparison the most gigantic and formidable that the world has ever seen.

Shipping Under the Stars and Stripes.

The principal declaration of the President's tour came, however, not on the direct issue of the tariff, but on a question closely associated with it. Powerful as the American tariff system has been to bring about an overwhelming development of internal production, it has been impotent since the Civil War to promote American shipping. As the owner of ocean-going tonnage, the United States stands almost significantly low in the scale of nations. Yet Americans can never forget that just before the Civil War, at the climax of the era of wooden shipping, they

led the world in design, and seemed to be advancing rapidly towards predominance in the international carrying trade. Then came the technical revolution. Iron was substituted for timber. England swept ahead in the use of the new material, and the Republic was once more hopelessly outdistanced. But the conditions are altered again. The United States is now as supreme in the extent of its iron and steel production as formerly in the resources of its forests. The star-spangled banner flaps over a great navy and flies above oversea possessions. American policy seeks to play a strong rôle in the affairs of the Far East. The Panama Canal will change all the conditions by making possible under the American flag the largest coasting trade yet known. Finally, there is not only the constant example of the mother-island's maritime supremacy, but a still greater stimulus to American desires is the brilliant success in mercantile enterprise of Germany and Japan. Both these latter countries owe much to State aid. In the case of Japan, especially, the astonishing expansion of the trading fleet, no less than of the fighting navy, is the direct result of organised patriotism.

Subsidies in Sight.

We can now imagine the effect created upon American opinion, especially upon the Pacific coast, by Mr. Taft's decisive declaration in favour of shipping subsidies. This memorable statement was made in a speech at the Seattle Exposition on September 30th, and was received with tumultuous enthusiasm by a vast audience. A repetition of the same views was welcomed with equal vigour at San Francisco, which has been publicly celebrating its splendid recovery from ruin. "Were we to go to war to-day," said the President, "our merchant marine lacks altogether a sufficient tonnage in the auxiliary unarmed ships absolutely necessary to the proper operation of the navy, and we should have to purchase such vessels from foreign countries; and this might, under the laws governing neutrals, be most difficult." But Mr. Taft and his audience were rather thinking of what are called the purposes of peace. First they want to wrest the mercantile mastery of the Pacific from the Japanese, and to control the carrying trade between China and North America. Mr. Taft pointed out quite truly that, in view of the awakening of the Far East, the development of trade between the opposite shores of the Pacific would probably be the chief commercial feature of the next half century. Again, Mr. Taft and all the American thinkers of his school desire to envelop South America by United States steamship lines, plying down both the Atlantic and the Pacific coasts to Argentina on the one side and to Chili on the other. These extensive but quite practical ambitions,

certain, if realised, to affect considerably both the economic and the political maps of the world, have been advocated before with glowing eloquence to no purpose. But Mr. Taft strikes a new note. He throws into the scales his whole power as head of the State. He definitely proposes that Congress during the coming session shall devote six or seven million dollars, to begin with, to the subsidisation of steamship lines to the Far East and South America. But this, as we have said, is to be no more than a beginning. "Experience will show how the policy can best be enlarged and the American flag made to wave upon the seas as it did before the Civil War." We cannot doubt that this formidable policy so long projected is now nearer execution. The effect upon our own interests will be serious, and may enforce upon us, so vital is our dependence upon the sea, a considerable extension of the policy applied to the construction of the *Mauretania* and the *Lusitania*. This topic may engage more of our attention in the time to come. It is not too soon to draw attention to its importance.

The Meeting with Porfirio Diaz.

An event of more immediate political interest and at the same time by far the most picturesque and dramatic episode of the great journey was the meeting of Mr. Taft and General Porfirio Diaz upon the Mexican frontier. This interview between the two Presidents attracted attention for several reasons. In the first place, it resembled the meetings of monarchs so familiar on this side of the Atlantic, and marked another step in the assimilation of European methods by American foreign policy. In the next place, this interview was striking and significant in itself. Wearing the magnificent uniform of Commander-in-Chief of the Mexican Army, General Diaz crossed the Rio Grande to American territory, and was received by a salute of twenty-one guns. Mr. Taft wore his ordinary frock-coat, which does not change the fact that his views of foreign and State policy are as "Imperialistic" as those of the German Emperor. The ceremonies were completed by a banquet in the evening on Mexican territory, when the two Presidents dined on silver and gold plate once belonging to the unhappy Emperor Maximilian. Both Republics have been exercised by this meeting. Porfirio Diaz, as everyone knows, is one of the greatest men alive. Partly of Indian and partly of Spanish descent, his career as an anti-clerical dictator has been unexampled. He has subjugated Church and State alike, and to the fullest extent that local conditions have allowed he has been the embodiment of despotic efficiency. He has been as sure in his judgment as prompt and ruthless in his stroke, and observers

have seen in him the Red Indian temperament raised to a higher power. No one needs to be told how marvellous has been the material development of Mexico under his *régime*. But he is nearly eighty, and though he can still say "*l'état, c'est moi*," the hour approaches when he must resign his responsibility. What possible successor of anything like equal character and authority has yet appeared; and another outbreak of the old spirit of anarchy, spreading to the Central American Republics, would not only ruin the country in a few years, but would inevitably lead to the extinction of real Mexican independence and to the extension of United States suzerainty down to the Panama Canal. Mexico is saturated with "American" enterprise, and has often been called the Transvaal of the United States. Does President Diaz think that no other man can continue his own system? Does he perceive that Mexico must fall more and more under the influence of her giant neighbour? This might be brought about under conditions which would ensure complete internal autonomy as well as even greater economic progress. It is surmised as a matter of course that the two Presidents discussed the affairs of Central America, where their joint influence has been already exerted for the maintenance of order. For that purpose the two Governments, if necessary, would intervene together by force of arms; and that fact may prove to be of active importance now that another revolution in Nicaragua threatens to involve neighbouring States like San Salvador and Guatemala. The question, however, which preoccupies all concerned with Mexican affairs is that of the Presidential succession. General Diaz completes his eightieth year less than twelve months hence, and a few weeks later, in November, 1910, his present period of office will come to an end. At one time he protested that nothing would induce him to continue for another term, and though there have been signs that he may decide after all to secure another re-nomination, it is also possible that his resignation might occur at an unexpectedly early date. At his age, the course of nature itself must be prudently considered. It is thought probable that some agreement with Mr. Taft was arrived at, and that the United States Government will guarantee a stable *régime* in Mexico no matter to whom the Presidential succession should be transferred in that country after the resignation or death of Porfirio Diaz. In any case the meeting at El Paso was a very remarkable episode in the world's politics.

Mr. Taft and the Far East.

Much as has been said about American affairs, we are not yet at the end of the topic, and no apology need be offered for pursuing it further. We are now accustomed to discuss German

politics, for instance, at full length, and we ought to follow the policy of the United States with far more attention than we usually give. There is no longer any doubt that Mr. Taft means to pursue a driving policy in foreign and commercial affairs, and to govern in what would be called in this country the spirit of a strong Imperialism. The President has been in one sense a "proconsul." He has ruled the Philippines for three years. In the course of various missions he has seen most of the world. If he seems bent upon an especially vigorous intervention in China, that is because he believes that American primacy on the Pacific is one of the first conditions of American security. The energy with which Mr. Taft secured a share in the Szechuan Railway loan was a prompt and thorough stroke of policy which Count Aehrenthal might have admired. We heard much at that time of "the American dollar with the American man behind it, and the American Government behind both." A later incident was greeted with more mixed feelings both in the United States and elsewhere. Mr. Rockhill, in spite of his unrivalled knowledge of the Far East, was transferred to St. Petersburg. As his successor at the Peking Legation was appointed Mr. Crane, a wealthy manufacturer in Chicago. Before taking up his post, Mr. Crane prematurely unbosomed himself to the Press, and the statements attributed to him could bear no interpretation but that he was going out to the Far East as an active diplomatic opponent of Japan. In the end Mr. Crane never went to the Far East at all, for his resignation was required and tendered. Mr. Knox, the Secretary of State, declares that though his department is still studying the recent agreement between Japan and China with regard to Manchuria, it cannot yet be said that the principle of the open door has been violated, or that a protest will be made. We have already referred to the agreement in question, which was signed at Peking on September 4th. Its chief effect may be shortly explained if we say that it definitely recognises Japan as the predominant partner for railway and mining purposes in southern Manchuria. It will be very difficult to show that this agreement, though securing for the Mikado's Government in practice a commanding position in the region concerned, violates the theory of the "open door." It is certain, as we have always said in these pages, that nothing but force could prevent Japan from steadily strengthening her position in South Manchuria, where the political conditions, as a result of the recent war, are altogether exceptional. But elsewhere the United States will evidently insist henceforth upon having an equal share in any advantages conceded by China to foreign enterprise.

The Passing of Chang Chih-tung.

Japan neglects no means which may help her to hold her own, and relies upon nothing but organisation and sacrifice. It is a natural transition to China. The movement of reform in the Middle Kingdom is vast, it is slow, but it is ceasing to be obscure. Prolonged as the process of regeneration may prove, uncertain as the immediate future may be, there can be no further doubt that the awakening is in many ways effectual. Almost upon the eve of some notable events marking the disappearance of the old order, there passed away in the person of the famous Viceroy Chang Chih-tung the best and greatest among the literary mandarins of the traditional type. In his scholarship, conversation, character, negligence, and benevolence, he was a sort of Oriental Dr. Johnson, if such a thing can be imagined. The Johnsonian element he lacked was that practical good sense in dealing with modern matters which the mediæval education of this celebrated schoolman made it almost impossible that he should have. "The many fantastic schemes which Chang has originated," said Mr. Michie, "would in any other country have relegated their author to the care of the Commissioners of Lunacy. One of these was to prevent foreign ships from entering the Gulf of Pechili by sinking tiers of junks between Shantung and Talienwan; another was to catch the Japanese soldiers in a gigantic locust trap consisting of a deep trench to be dug at their supposed landing-place near Shan-hai-kwan." Chang's high moral courage prevented the extension of the Boxer movement to the central provinces and in other ways saved Chinese self-respect. But well-meant as were the industrial and commercial schemes which he strove to originate, his failure as a practical reformer was as complete as his literary exposition of his purposes was brilliant. He became known to foreign critics as the Grand Muddler of the Middle Kingdom. But though he spent his whole career in an atmosphere of corruption and had every opportunity for amassing unlimited wealth, he lived clean-handed and died poor. He bequeathed his country something better perhaps than technical success. He set an example of strong and pure character which will not be without influence, let us be certain, upon those whose opportunities for gaining scientific knowledge and practical aptitudes were greater than he ever enjoyed. In spite of all modern changes, the greatest thing in Japan by far remains the old Japanese spirit which caught up Western science as a weapon. In the same way Chinese success in the future will be built, if at all, upon that solidity of character so finely represented by Chang Chih-tung.

A Railway under the Great Wall.

While the greatest man of one generation lay dying, the new order was celebrating one of the most notable of its achievements. With elaborate ceremonial was opened in the early days of October the Peking-Kalgan Railway. This is the first line entirely designed, financed, built, and operated by Chinese promoters, engineers, and workmen without foreign assistance. The magnitude of the feat is explained by the well-known Peking correspondent of the *Times*. The line to Kalgan is over 120 miles in length. It passes under the Great Wall by a long tunnel. "It taps extensive coalfields, and is well and economically laid. Already the traffic is astonishing." More important still are, on the one hand, the experience and confidence derived by the Chinese from the successful undertaking of this work; and, on the other hand, the great sequel already planned. The railway is to be extended several hundred miles further into Mongolia. Kalgan has flourished since Marco Polo's time, and has been famous in later days as the chief depôt of the overland tea trade with its picturesque caravans. This is another sign of the steady movement of Chinese enterprise and emigration towards the north. There are wide regions to be opened up in Mongolia, as well as in Siberia. There is inherent in the four hundred millions of the Chinese population an immense colonising power. This is the factor which may well cause, and does cause, serious apprehension both to Russia and Japan. Complaints come to St. Petersburg and Moscow from the Amur provinces that Chinese immigrants in every town in which they appear undermine the livelihood of Russians and even the enterprise of Jews. Yet how can a remedy be devised? Australia and the two Americas have at least the whole space of the ocean between them and the yellow world. But the Middle Kingdom is an enormous reservoir of life brimming over incessantly towards the Russian and Japanese spheres. Whether anything can prevent the reabsorption of all the eastern portion of Siberia by the Mongolian race is what remains to be seen, and this will be one of the most continuously interesting problems of coming decades. It ought to be mentioned in this connection that increasing numbers of Chinese students seek a modern education in America, and that Sir Frederick Lugard's university scheme may make Hong-Kong the chief teaching centre for South China. If the Peking-Kalgan line is already a result of exclusively Chinese ability, what may not be effected by the efforts of another generation?

Provincial Parliaments Opened in China.

Yet an occurrence of a quite different order is of more extraordinary significance still. A fortnight ago was inaugurated the provincial system of representative assemblies. The ceremonies differed in various cities, but none the less laid throughout the country the constitutional foundations of the "United States of China." If this event could have been foreseen a few years ago, there would have been less scepticism with regard to the possibilities of the Chinese progressive movement. The process contemplated by decrees issued under the *régime* of the late Empress-Dowager closely follows the example of Japan, which deliberately rebuilt the imperial structure from base to pinnacle, beginning with a reform of local government and appointing periods within which the edifice was to be carried upwards stage by stage. Eight years hence, according to this massive method, a Parliament of two Chambers is to meet at Peking. It will be a Chinese Congress, except that the prerogatives of the Crown are to remain supreme in the spheres of foreign policy and Imperial defence. It is by no means too soon to realise that this grandiose scheme may prove to be something much more than the vision of a political Kubla Khan. The years of preparation according to programme—more easily drawn than adhered to—will be filled with reforms. This year the provincial assemblies and local government are created. Next year the census is to be taken, provincial Budgets are to be framed, and the new Criminal Code drawn up by a Japanese jurist is to be promulgated. In the third year Courts of Justice are to be established. And so on by a rising series of reforms, until an Imperial Parliament crowns this mighty work of political architecture. What shall we think of the scheme? We can only wait to see what happens, but we must wait without optimism and without incredulity. It will be said we have the example of Japan. There, however, the conditions were very different. National sovereignty and a patriotic aristocracy gave Japan powerful leadership, such as created the greatness of Prussia and France, and of England herself. In China the dynasty is not national in the same way; aristocracy in the sense of social and political leadership hardly exists; the chief impulses towards reform work from below. Now that Chang Chih-tung has disappeared and Yuan Shih-Kai is in retreat, the Manchu caste controls more completely than ever the Central Government, but higher administrative abilities than those of the Manchus are not so common even among the Chinese as is sometimes imagined.

Yuan Shih-Kai and the Manchu Caste.

The comparison is so far seriously to the disadvantage of China; but the Manchu dynasty, seeing the impossibility of maintaining

Ferrer was then arrested on suspicion and imprisoned for a year. When, after all the investigations of the police, no evidence against him could be discovered, he was not "politically murdered," as he would have been if the theories of Spanish justice now spread by his friends were true. He was discharged. He resumed his revolutionary teaching. After the recent Catalan outbreak, already described with some fullness in these pages, Señor Ferrer was seized. He was tried by court-martial and no witnesses were examined. If the most turbulent city in Europe is now in a state of siege, that is not the fault of the Government but of the revolutionaries. No witnesses were examined, and the summary procedure before a military tribunal was a political blunder; but it is absurd to call it a judicial crime. The trial and execution were episodes in the repression and punishment of desperate revolt in a city where political murder of an almost unexampled cruelty has raged, and where in the last quarter of a century there have been over a hundred bomb outrages by which forty-seven people have been killed and 241 wounded. If executions are to cease, *que messieurs les assassins commencent*.

An Explosion of Revolutionary Passion.

The Spanish Government may have made mistakes of judgment, though in a situation which might well have broken weak men, Señor Maura and Señor La Cierva, his Minister of the Interior, showed a resolution, courage, and directness worthy of M. Stolypin himself. These statesmen maintain that Señor Ferrer was shot in Montjuich for his proved participation in revolutionary acts. The advanced opinion of Europe, led by Anatole France, insists that Ferrer died a victim of a judicial murder, a martyr for his philosophical ideas, his educational work, his anti-clerical zeal; and that the officers who condemned him were the fanatical tools of tyrants and Jesuits. This is not the view held in Spain itself by the Liberals, who most vehemently denounce the prudence and capacity of the Conservatives in connection with the Riff campaign and the Catalanian troubles. The Liberals think that the form of the Ferrer trial was a blunder. They do not dispute the substantial justice of the sentence. In reply to the charge that he was executed for his "ideas," they point to the fact that before the recent revolt in Barcelona Ferrer had the fullest liberty to propagate his "ideas" both by teaching and writing. Before the execution, menaces of a very ill-advised kind were addressed from Paris and elsewhere, not only to the Maura Cabinet, but to King Alfonso, who had no personal responsibility whatever for Ferrer's death. With the news that Ferrer was dead, all the Socialist and extreme anti-

clerical sentiment in Europe leaped into madness. The rioting was most serious in Paris, where a policeman was killed, while M. Lépine himself was repeatedly fired at point-blank and narrowly escaped with his life. The police had to charge again and again amidst showers of stones and bricks; and barricades, bonfires, the tearing down of shutters, the breaking of the boulevard trees, the overturning and burning of omnibuses mingled in indescribable scenes of disorder and destruction. It need hardly be said that the scoundrelism of Paris promptly came out in the name of humanity, and the apaches showed noble feeling by trying to break into a bank. Elsewhere ruffianism was mixed in the same way with revolutionary violence, always ready to exploit any pretext, and with the genuine emotion of many persons stirred by vehement misdescriptions of the case, though knowing little of Spain in general and still less, if possible, of Ferrer and his work. General strikes were threatened in many cities, from Buenos Aires to Budapest. In Pisa the mob tried to burn the doors of the glorious cathedral—more ancient and austere than St. Peter's or Milan, and more precious to some of us—which forms with the Leaning Tower, the Baptistery, and the Campo Santo that wonderful series of prayers in stone which, taken together, are as moving as anything architectural in the world. "Anti-clericalism" is more and more used as a convenient cover for a sort of irreligious and destructive rage which can delight no sane man.

Fall of the Maura Ministry.

The sequel, however, was fatal to the Spanish Government. With the reopening of the Cortes, Señor Moret, the Liberal leader, engaged in a memorable oratorical duel with Señor Maura. In the result the latter resigned office with all his colleagues, and the affairs of Spain are taken over at a critical moment by Señor Moret, with a Moderate Liberal Cabinet and a programme of general conciliation. It is not easy to be sanguine about the issue. Señor Maura is as unmistakably the strongest steersman in Spain as was Canovas del Castillo in his time, and the Liberals will find it hard to maintain order by milder or other methods than those employed by their predecessors. In reply to excited interpellations, both in the House of Commons and the French Chamber, Sir Edward Grey and M. Pichon repudiated the suggestion of interference in the domestic affairs of another nation.

General d'Amade's Indiscretion.

An interesting announcement is made by the usually well-informed Madrid correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph*, who believes that General Weyler will be appointed to command the

operations in Morocco. The Riff campaign has followed the course we ventured last month to anticipate. The Moors were manoeuvred out of Mount Gurugu, and upon the summit of that rugged mass the Spanish flag was planted. A detachment of King Alfonso's troops was ambushed soon afterwards and almost annihilated. This showed the stubborn vitality of Moorish resistance, but did not change the fact that General Marina and his troops had secured a solid improvement of their strategical position. Their occupation of Zeluan, however, brought about a strange explosion of nervous irritation in France, where it was feared that the Spanish Government might pursue a policy of further advance in the interior. At this moment of electrical pressure in the atmosphere of Franco-Spanish relations—never quite a perfect atmosphere—the air was sufficiently cleared by a thunderclap of indiscretion. General d'Amade was the Commander-in-Chief of the French campaign in the Shawia country after the Casablanca massacre. But this gallant and competent soldier is obviously not one of nature's diplomats. He vehemently declared to a representative of the *Matin* that Spain was going too far; that her army of fifty thousand men on the Riff was too large for local purposes; that the obvious idea of the Madrid Government was to advance to Taza, thus cutting the great route which leads from Algeria to Fez, and thence to the Atlantic seaboard at Rabat. That route, as General d'Amade says, must be the main artery of any policy of pacific penetration. But a resort to "large maps," as the late Lord Salisbury was accustomed to recommend, would have convinced him that the Spanish army could not easily get to Taza, even if the Spanish Government wanted to go to Taza. It does not. The explanations exchanged between Paris and Madrid were satisfactory, and the unfortunate result of this incident is that General d'Amade has had to resign his command of the ninth division at Orleans, and has ceased for the moment to belong to the active list.

The Greek Revolution.

The revolution in Greece pursues its disastrous course. The best to be said for it is that the military junta, though they have expelled the Royal Family from the army, have not yet forced their Sovereign to abdicate. The Young Turks established a Constitution. The Young Greeks have destroyed one. Under threats of occupying the Chamber, they have made the Legislature a registration agency for the decrees of the conspirators, and by a stroke of celestial irony the unhappy deputies are even threatened with pains and penalties for taking refuge in silence and passing Bills with an untoward pre-

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cipitancy. They are constrained in conscience to make a false impression, and forced under threats to make themselves look like free men. This is very Greek in the sense that would have delighted Edmond About. The junta has thrust upon the Chamber an enormous scheme for raising a national army of 450,000 men—half regulars, half militia. At the same time, there is every sign of a robust democratic revolt against the necessary taxation. King George has caused to be published some painful statements in which he maintains that he has been in effect betrayed by Powers who practically promised him Crete, and did not keep their word. Count Aehrenthal's policy was not perfect, but it appears more and more to have been brilliant indeed by comparison with that of any of his diplomatic competitors.

The Changing Scene.

In Austria, however, where the antagonism of Czechs and Germans paralyses both the Reichsrath and the Bohemian Diet, and in Hungary, where the coalition has gone to pieces and all attempts have failed to effect a compromise between the Kossuthist majority and the Crown, domestic affairs are in chaos. Almost simultaneously with the first anniversary of the annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the independence of Bulgaria, was celebrated the thirtieth anniversary of the Triple Alliance. Austrian sentiment, irritated by the tactless Pan-German address delivered by the veteran economist, Professor Adolf Wagner, at the Vienna meeting of the Verein für Sozial Politik, was soon soothed by the ringing address in which Prince Ludwig of Bavaria warned all Germans to respect the sovereignty of Francis Joseph. The Tsar, however, significantly avoids Austro-Hungarian territory in the journey he is taking at the moment when these lines are written to meet the King of Italy at Racconigi. Finally, let us note that Germany has begun to launch the Dreadnoughts hitherto existing only on the stocks, and that M. Briand has vastly increased his reputation and influence in France by a very powerful and balanced speech at Perigueux, where he appealed for religious tolerance, social reconciliation, and national concord. The autumn manœuvres throughout Europe were held upon an unprecedented scale, and the testimony of all competent foreign witnesses, including the German Colonel Gädke, that the army of the Republic is now second to none has contributed much towards that restoration of self-confidence which at this moment is very noticeable in France.

J. L. GARVIN.

M. IZVOLSKY AND COUNT VON AEHRENTHAL: A RECTIFICATION.

AN article dealing with the latest Balkan crisis and with what is known as the diplomatic duel between M. Izvolsky and Baron von Aehrenthal appeared in the September issue of the *FORT-NIGHTLY REVIEW*, and attracted widespread attention. It may fairly be described as an apology for the Russian statesman and a defence of his Near Eastern policy, grounded on interesting data and on facts which were unknown to the general public until then. In an age of utilitarianism like ours, when success is the unique standard by which private conduct and public policies are gauged, it is refreshing to note that lost causes have still their champions and worsted statesmen their panegyrists. Happily, not all the earthly deputies of Rhadamanthus judge men by what they did; some of them take also into consideration what they would do. And in the case of M. Izvolsky ordinary justice, no less than sentimentality, is interested in repelling the ferocious attacks made upon him of late in foreign countries as well as in his own. Disappointment and bitterness are the eyes through which his native critics view the unavoidable results of a policy which they hold he could and should have sedulously avoided. And such a medium is necessarily distorting. The circumstance that the end of his policy was not one with its aim is a crime in their eyes as though an error of judgment were identical with a deliberate shirking of duty. These malcontents seem constitutionally unable to deplore an event without accusing a person, just as the bulk of their readers cannot but construe every charge levelled against public men as a condemnation without appeal. In truth M. Izvolsky is a statesman who well deserves far better treatment. Had he no other right to this rank than the high position he occupied during a grave European crisis, that alone would go far to justify it. But he can rest his claim upon other and more solid grounds. One cannot therefore but welcome a generous defence of his policy and a description of the arduous character of the task which he set himself to accomplish during the past few years. For, in truth, he has been unfairly treated. Even his friends in England have turned away from him seemingly without cause or pretext. The *Times* divulged the awkward fact that M. Izvolsky, the October pro-tector of Bosnia, was the June seller of Bosnia to Austria-Hungary, having on June 18th offered the two provinces to

Baron von Aehrenthal. Well might the anglophile Russian Minister exclaim "Et tu, Brute!" At the same time it is to be regretted that his champion ran the risk of damaging a good cause by failing to eliminate from his apology grave inaccuracies when dealing with matters of fact, and by sprinkling his client's adversary with asafœtida while perfuming his client with smoking frankincense.

By truth alone can M. Izvolsky's friends successfully repel the ungenerous onslaught made upon him by his rancorous evil-wishers. He appears to have been partly bound by his predecessors to pursue a policy which, having no roots in diplomatic soil—it ran counter to binding treaties—and no support in military superiority, was foredoomed to failure. And when it failed he was treated like Actæon when he had lost his form—he was torn to pieces by his own dogs. On those lines of fact a defence of the Russian statesman might be conducted to some purpose. Unfortunately his apologist preferred a less helpful plea: he contends that the Austrian Foreign Secretary did not play fair. There could not be a worse groundwork for a defence of M. Izvolsky, because the mere light of day dispels it. And for this reason it may be assumed that the author of the article was unacquainted with the real facts and unprovided with criteria by which to recognise the idle fancies. Already Governments, politicians, and journalists throughout the world are quickly doing both. Count Aehrenthal has already received ample satisfaction from the most truculent of his recent antagonists. Events have justified his actions, treaties have testified to the ethics of his policy, and facts which are gradually coming to light about the negotiations are scattering the doubts that hitherto existed about the fairness of his dealings with M. Izvolsky. With all these allies on his side it would be folly to give a fillip to a dead agitation by renewing a controversy which is also dead or dying. But for the sake of historical truth it may not be amiss to set right the author of the article, who doubtless wished to write the truth, and also those of his readers whom he may have misled.

The first allegation made by M. Izvolsky's champion is that Austria-Hungary, as represented by Count von Aehrenthal, proved an untrustworthy partner. For she first agreed to pursue a certain line of action in co-operation with Russia, and then she deliberately and secretly swerved from it in order to gain her own special ends. She approached the work of Macedonian reform with an outward show of sincerity and eagerness while resolved in her heart of hearts to betray the cause to the Sultan for a railway concession. And that concession she had debarred

herself from obtaining so long as her agreement with Russia lasted.

The condition of things in Macedonia had been going from bad to worse, in spite of the efforts of Austria and Russia to better them. . . . Moreover, the administration of justice—which, after all, is the supreme test of a tolerable government—was a mere farce. . . . The Powers came to the conclusion that the only safe solution of the pressing problem would be the introduction into Macedonia of judicial reforms. And in virtue of the Mürzsteg agreement, Austria-Hungary and Russia were charged with the framing of the necessary measures of relief, and with making recommendations as to the ways and means of having them accepted and realised by the Porte. And this is where the first important piece of evidence respecting Austria's strange attitude is available—evidence which cannot be too carefully sifted or too nicely weighed by a public whose love of fair play is proverbial.

M. Izvolsky and Baron von Aehrenthal set about drafting the judicial reforms which they considered indispensable, adequate, and feasible. And they laboured diligently. Every clause, every paragraph, every sentence, almost every word, was discussed warmly and threshed out thoroughly. After long and exhaustive debates acceptable formulas were drawn up. The task was manifestly taken seriously by both sides. Austria had shown herself especially prone to hair-splitting, not in a trivial sense, but as a legal adviser might well be who had a number of heterogeneous interests to represent or reconcile. And the upshot of the debates was a series of measures which, in the eyes of the two statesmen, came as nearly as possible to what was necessary, adequate, and feasible. Consequently the Russian Government had every reason to hold that Austria-Hungary was in dead earnest, and that nothing could be further from her intentions than to play false. This inference was natural; it was inevitable.¹

Now the unavoidable inference from this passage is that both sides were agreed upon the practical conclusions of the negotiations, and also that Russia was grievously mistaken in assuming, as she reasonably did, that Austria-Hungary was in dead earnest, for in reality she was not in earnest but was only throwing dust in the eyes of her partner. Such is the charge preferred against Count von Aehrenthal. Now for the facts.

The clauses of the Macedonian reform scheme were in truth debated warmly, sharply, thoroughly. But the upshot was disagreement. Austria-Hungary dissented from Russia's view, and M. Izvolsky felt unable or unwilling to endorse Baron von Aehrenthal's scheme. That is an undeniable fact and a fact of supreme importance; yet the author of the article in the *FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW* leads us to believe that the two Governments were at one in their views, that they drew up a project which each of them endorsed and was prepared to recommend to all the other Powers. Doubtless he himself was misinformed. In the light of this fact the British public will understand why it was that Prince Bülow, during his conversation on the subject with M.

(1) *Fortnightly Review*, September, 1909, p. 386.

Izvolsky at Swinemünde, did not say : "As you and Aehrenthal have agreed to recommend a number of reforms, they are certain to answer all the exigencies of the case. . . . You can take it from me that we will give our warmest support to them all"; but expressed himself much more cautiously in the words quoted by the author of the article as follows : "But if you and Aehrenthal have agreed, &c. . . . You can take it from me that we will give our warmest support to every proposition you *both* have drafted." You both. Consequently he provided for the possible case of disagreement.

The divergence of views in which the discussion culminated took the form of two sets of proposals which Baron Aehrenthal and M. Izvolsky decided to lay before the Ambassadors in Constantinople, without, however, informing them which scheme was upheld by Austria-Hungary and which one had the approval of Russia. M. Izvolsky's project was to the effect that the Mohammedan and the Christian inspectors who were to watch over the administration of justice should derive their powers from two different sources : the Sultan was to appoint the former, while the International Commission would select the latter. To this, Baron von Aehrenthal demurred. And he grounded his objection on the Mürzsteg agreement, which, by the irony of things, he is now accused of having violated. According to the Mürzsteg programme, reforms for Macedonia were to be carried through with the Sultan's assent, not against it. And this was Austria-Hungary's standpoint from outset to finish. From this position she never swerved by a hair's breadth. It was also Russia's position, and Russia had pleaded it successfully against England's more radical reform plans. But M. Izvolsky departed from it subsequently. Whether he was right or wrong is irrelevant here. Important is the fact that it was he, and not his adversary, who changed sides and quitted the ground of the Mürzsteg programme. A curious detail may instruct, it will hardly edify, the author of the article. Baron Aehrenthal used as an argument against M. Izvolsky's proposal the circumstance that it put Russia and the Powers in contradiction with themselves. For from the beginning they had laid it down that Moslems and Christians must be treated on a footing of perfect equality. But if M. Izvolsky's scheme were realised, the Christians would be treated very differently from their Mussulman fellow-subjects.

Baron von Aehrenthal, true to the general direction of his reform policy that it should be effected with, not against the Sultan, proposed that a list of candidates, Christian and Mohammedan, should be drawn up and laid before the Turkish Monarch, who would make his choice from among them. He added the

safeguarding clause that the Sultan's selection should not be carried out without the assent of the Finance Commission. That seemed a reasonable way of solving a delicate and difficult problem and of reconciling interests that clashed at many points. It also showed that Austria-Hungary took the matter seriously and exerted herself zealously to help on the cause of the Christians of the three Macedonian vilayets.

When M. Izvolsky's unwillingness to accept this proposal was seen to be deep-rooted, Baron Aehrenthal resolved to stretch a point in order to meet him half way and further the cause which they both had at heart. And this is how he did it. "Let us," he said, "lay both schemes before the Ambassadors in Constantinople and abide by their decision. I will accept their award on one condition: it must be given on the merits of the case without favour or prejudice. Therefore the origins of the two proposals shall be kept secret from the Ambassadors, who shall not know which scheme was drafted by Russia and which was drafted by Austria." With this suggestion M. Izvolsky closed, and each side undertook to guard the secret religiously. That is another piece of valuable evidence in proof of Austria's zeal for the cause of the Ottoman Christians and loyalty towards her fellow-worker.

For the sake of humanity one is sorry to have to add that this agreement was broken. The Russians let it be known almost at once which was their proposal and which one emanated from the Ballhausplatz. The Ambassadors finally decided that the choice and appointment of the Mohammedan inspectors should be left to the Ottoman Government, while the Christian inspectors should be appointed by the International Commission and be sanctioned by the Porte. But the entire reform scheme was never submitted to the Ottoman Government, because the Ambassadors who met at Constantinople in January, 1908, came to the conclusion that it would be inopportune and unfruitful.

Those data, which are incontrovertible, contain proof enough of Austria's sincerity in the matter of the reform and of her perseverance in the kind of action which she sketched from the outset as her own. From that line she refused to depart. But she went as far as she consistently could towards Russia in order to carry the reform.

But there is a more forcible, because a more palpable, piece of evidence on record, of which the author of the article seems to have had no knowledge. In January, 1908, the Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister instructed his Ambassador in St. Petersburg to inform M. Izvolsky that he was quite ready to join Russia in putting pressure upon the Porte. Therefore the

author of the article, who implies the contrary, is mistaken. His contention is that by soliciting the Sandjak Railway concession Austria-Hungary had undermined her own influence over the Sultan, and could not co-operate with Russia, France, and England in compelling him to sanction the reform scheme. The fact is that Austria remained quite firm on this point, and went so far as to propose pressure of a new and forcible kind. Baron Aehrenthal instructed Count Berchtold to say that it was evident that pressure would ultimately have to be brought to bear on the Porte. He was further of opinion that it ought not to take the hackneyed form of a naval demonstration. A fresh departure would be more efficacious. Let the Ambassadors be all sent on long leave of absence, and let the business be managed by mere *chargés d'affaires*. That measure would impress the Porte, he thought.

This scheme was communicated to M. Izvolsky in January, 1909, by the Austro-Hungarian Ambassador at St. Petersburg, who reminded him of it again on February 9th following. But the Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs did not relish the proposal, and made no secret of his dislike. That far-ranging fact is also on record. The proposal to compel the Porte to grant reform was made on the initiative of Baron von Aehrenthal, who thus armed M. Izvolsky with a weapon against himself, a weapon which would have damaged Austria in the eyes of the Sultan. It stands to reason that action of this kind could proceed only from a statesman whose sincerity was beyond question and whose aims were above criticism. Therefore it is misleading now to assert that Austria's reform action was paralysed or hampered by her efforts to obtain a concession for a railway that seemed useful, indispensable. Baron von Aehrenthal, by volunteering that suggestion about the temporary withdrawal of the Ambassadors from Constantinople, gave hostages to M. Izvolsky of his desire to work amicably and efficaciously for the welfare of the Macedonian Christians. Russia, with this proposal in her hands, possessed a trump card against the Austrian Foreign Secretary. She could have played it to some purpose if she laid so much stress on the Sandjak Railway and so little on keeping diplomatic secrets as she displayed before the Ambassadors' meeting in Constantinople.

It any case it is now clear that facts do not bear out the allegation that Austria-Hungary was but trifling with Europe in the matter of the reforms for Macedonia. They prove the contrary proposition, and prove it irrefragably.

Before dismissing this part of the subject, it may be permissible to point out another and a more credible way in which M. Izvolsky

might have acted had he wished to delay the granting of the Sandjak Railway concession by the Porte. He might have abstained from actively opposing it; he might have moderated the aggressiveness with which he resented it. The course which he actually took was different, and calculated to defeat his own end. He proclaimed that the concession, if granted, would raise a high barrier between Russia and Austria-Hungary, making the two Powers mortal enemies for a long time to come. And the Sultan, who was ever seeking for some such means of estranging the two protectors of Macedonia, was overjoyed at finding such an efficacious one. Instead of putting off the imperial decree from day to day and from week to week, as he had been doing down to this, he hurriedly granted the concession. Before this, negotiations had been moving forward very slowly. Abdul Hamid had been temporising; Baron Aehrenthal's patience had been subjected to severe ordeals. But the moment M. Izvolsky revealed the effect it would have upon Russia's relations to Austria-Hungary, the Sultan made haste to sign the document. In this way M. Izvolsky became the confederate of Baron Aehrenthal, helping him to obtain the railway concession.

What happened immediately after this is matter of common knowledge. The Russian Minister, taunted by his Press with having allowed his adversary to obtain a sweetmeat, a chunk of Turkish delight from the Sultan, thought it his duty to get another chunk for himself. And he demanded a concession for the Adria railway. Whether this was good and desirable from any point of view has been questioned over and over again. That is a matter for M. Izvolsky and his fellow-countrymen.

More relevant to the issue is the query raised by the Russian Foreign Secretary. Was Baron Aehrenthal's demand for the Sandjak Railway concession a breach of the Austro-Russian agreement come to at Mürzsteg; and was it a tricky move on the part of the Austrian Foreign Secretary? Here are the main facts that furnish the materials for an answer. Some years ago Count Lamsdorff, M. Izvolsky's predecessor at the Russian Foreign Office, had given it as his opinion that the Mürzsteg agreement put certain restrictions upon the liberty of action which Austria-Hungary would have enjoyed had there been no such convention. Thus it limited her right to pursue purely national ends in the Balkan Peninsula, and to solicit railway, commercial, or industrial concessions from the Porte. But this contention was at once traversed by the Austro-Hungarian Foreign Secretary, Count Goluchowsky, who believed frankly and unmistakably that Austria's obligation to champion the cause of the Macedonian Christians in co-operation with Russia must not be taken to curtail or lessen her right to pursue her own commercial and

economic policy in the Balkans. This was stated to the Russian Minister not only as a theoretic opinion, but as a practical policy for which it behoved him to be prepared. Frankness characterised it, not double-dealing.

The grounds alleged by Count Goluchowsky for this interpretation of the Mürzsteg agreement were forcible. By using her influence for the good of the Christians of the three vilayets, Austria-Hungary was rendering them a signal service. The boon thus conferred would not be enhanced by a sacrifice made for Russia's behoof. And there was no good reason why she should offer up any of her national interests to Russia. Duty to one's own country takes precedence of all others, and it was the duty of the Vienna Cabinet to watch over and safeguard Austro-Hungarian interests, and to utilise to the fullest any opportunities of furthering them that might offer. Accordingly the Russian Foreign Office knew exactly what to expect, and had no right to cry out that it was taken by surprise. In 1901 Count Lamsdorff was informed by Count Goluchowsky that that was the construction put upon its rights and duties by Kaiser Franz Josef's Government, which would not hesitate to act upon it whenever occasion might arise.

That is an essential point. Russia must have known that Austria's policy of railway construction in the Balkans would be carried on as insistently and as successfully as Abdul Hamid's temporising ways would permit. The Sultan therefore, and not the Mürzsteg Convention, was the one limit to this line of action. A Russian statesman might have endeavoured to devise another. What no Russian Minister could reasonably do was to complain on the ground alleged by Count Lamsdorff that this policy was opposed to the spirit of the Convention. And to M. Izvolsky's credit it may be said that he perceived this clearly, and shifted his ground accordingly. For when discussing the subject with the Austro-Hungarian Ambassador at the beginning of the year 1908 he took up a standpoint which was not that of Count Lamsdorff. He did not urge that a policy of railway building amounted to a violation of the Mürzsteg Convention. All that he contended was that the moment chosen for the negotiations between Austria and Turkey was inopportune. The reform scheme was under discussion. This the Porte was certain to reject, neutralise, modify, or postpone. Pressure would then have to be brought upon Turkey. But if one of the champions of the reform project were soliciting favours from the Sultan, pressure from that Power would lack the cardinal quality of efficacy. That was the essence of M. Izvolsky's objection. Baron Aehrenthal's rejoinder was to the effect that it proved too

much, because it could be evoked with equal force against every attempt by Austria-Hungary to promote her national interests in the Balkans, and it would in any case invalidate her contention as defined by Count Goluchowski in 1901, that in all such matters the Mürzsteg Convention left her a perfectly free hand.

All these facts—which stand on record—go to show that it was Russia, not Austria, who swerved from her position. She first opposed the British proposals of Lord Lansdowne, using Austrian arguments to demolish them. She also denied Austria's right to look after her own interests in the Balkans, and then acknowledged the right, but objected to the exercise of it. M. Izvolsky did not now say, like his predecessor, "You are debarred from seeking railway concessions because that runs counter to the spirit of your agreement with us." What he virtually stated was this: "You may, of course, solicit any concessions you want. Neither the spirit nor the letter of the Convention can be invoked against you. But you cannot reasonably do it now. Wait at least until the reform scheme has been embodied in law." At bottom this was Count Lamsdorff's manœuvre in another form, and it was met in the same way as that had been. Besides, there was another ground for continuing the negotiations with the Porte about the Sandjak Railway. To break them off for a year or two would have been to abandon the results already laboriously attained and to begin again *da capo* under less favourable conditions.

The Sandjak Railway Concession was followed by an artificial storm in Russia. A blaze of indignation as of a straw fire burst out and died away as quickly as it had flared up. M. Izvolsky was harshly censured by the Press of his country mainly, his friends maintain, for the acts of his predecessors. He then demanded the sweetmeat for Russia, and obtained it without difficulty. The author of the article in the September issue of the *FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW* claims that the Russian Minister accepted this only from patriotic motives in order to patch up the rent in the Mürzsteg Convention, to help the Macedonian Christians and keep European politics within peace bounds. "The Russian Minister," we are told, "deserves considerable credit for having devised this tolerable issue out of a grave international difficulty." Against this plea of the counsel for canonisation there will be no demurrer by the *advocatus*—shall we say *diaboli*?

"Negotiations between Austria-Hungary and Russia," the author of the article assures us, "were accordingly resumed. They turned upon the situation in Turkey."¹ True, they did.

(1) *Fortnightly Review*, September, 1909, p. 395.

"And if the frank exchange of views which took place . . . between the representatives of the Russian and the Austro-Hungarian Empires were to be published *urbi et orbi*," the article continues, "the effect would naturally be most mischievous." To whom? Certainly not to Austria. So much is gracefully conceded even by M. Izvolsky's apologist, who writes: "The Russian Minister would have been exceedingly embarrassed had the documents in question been divulged."¹ Exceedingly. "Those negotiations," the article continues, "had no connection whatever with the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina."² Really? None whatever? Surely this statement is founded on the consequence of a lapse of memory, and would never have been endorsed by the Russian Minister himself. They had precisely to do with annexation, and not merely with that common form of it which was effected last October. That is the rub. They dealt also with an aggravated form of annexation.

If M. Izvolsky were to write upon the subject, which is described as covered with a thick veil of secrecy, he would doubtless remember that the *pièce de résistance* in those negotiations was precisely the status of Bosnia and Herzegovina. He would recall to mind how *aide-memoire* followed *aide-memoire*, and were all devoted to this delicate subject in its manifold aspects. He would see in his mind's eye the document divulged by the *Times* and dated June 19th, 1908, in which he offered Bosnia to Austria-Hungary.

Bosnia and Herzegovina had long ago been made over by Russia to Austria-Hungary—as far back as January, 1877. And a further agreement had been made to the effect that if the new Slav State, Bulgaria, were extended, as Russia wished, to the Ægean Sea, Macedonia should become autonomous, its capital should be Salonica, and a Customs' Union should be established combining Austria's commercial interests with those of the west Balkan States. That was a vast concession to make, and even that was not all.

The Russian Minister withdrew all objections against the Sandjak Railway, proposed a further partnership of the two Powers on the basis of the free passage of Russian warships into the Mediterranean and the Sovereignty of Austria over Bosnia and Herzegovina. That offer pleased Baron Aehrenthal exceedingly, served as a golden bridge between St. Petersburg and Vienna, and ultimately led to the historic interview at Buchlau. The annexation was thus foreseen, discussed, provided for.

"In Buchlau the two Ministers met at close quarters on

(1) *Fortnightly Review*, September, 1909, p. 395.

(2) *Ibidem*, September, 1909, p. 397.

September 15th. . . . Who broached the subject of the occupied provinces is immaterial." ¹ These statements are true, but the impression which they may convey to many is incorrect. It would, for instance, be erroneous to imagine that the subject of annexation was broached casually at Buchlau when M. Izvolsky happened to be there as a mere tourist. And to this impression colour is lent by the further course of the narrative. "When the discussion at last came to an end, M. Izvolsky pointed out what he supposed to have been self-evident, that he was in Buchlau as a tourist, and not as Foreign Secretary. He possessed, he explained, no powers whatever to treat with his colleague on any political question. What he could and would do, he said, was to receive all that Baron Aehrenthal had communicated to him *ad referendum*. He would lay it before his Imperial master and take his commands." ¹

The impression which the plain facts convey is different. The meeting of the two Foreign Secretaries at Buchlau was pre-arranged. The theme of discussion was known in advance. In advance it was prepared for. On September 15th the distinguished statesmen arrived, accompanied by their temporary secretaries. In the afternoon Baron von Aehrenthal appeared on the duelling-ground, together with Baron von Gagern, of the Vienna Foreign Office, and Sectionschef Esterhazy. In the evening M. Izvolsky reached a little station further off and drove over to Buchlau. He was accompanied by M. Demidoff, of the Russian Embassy in Vienna.

On Wednesday, September 16th, the two principals meeting in the garden after breakfast, entered *in medias res* at a single bound. It was then a little after 10 a.m. They at once returned to the Castle and adjourned to the quietest apartment it contained—a tiny, cosy room with an open fireplace and a few easy chairs. It could not comfortably accommodate more than two persons. Here the distinguished statesmen sat discussing matters of the highest political moment undisturbed. Hours passed, and they heeded not. At one p.m. lunch was announced, but they craved for a few minutes' grace. After lunch they remained together for another couple of hours, driving out into the woods, and on their return were still engaged in earnest and absorbing conversation. Altogether they debated the matters in hand for not less than six hours on that memorable Wednesday. After tea and shortly before six p.m., during a heavy downpour of rain, Baron Aehrenthal returned to the Austrian capital. M. Izvolsky remained at Buchlau until the following day. This thorough threshing out of a subject with the aid of documents, books,

(1) *Fortnightly Review*, September, 1909, p. 400.

secretaries, in accordance with a prearranged plan, appears to be as much or as little the *modus operandi* of a tourist as was the entire Balkan policy of M. Izvolsky.

That the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina was discussed at Buchlau with abundance of details may be taken for granted. That the Russian Foreign Minister assented to the incorporation of the two provinces, and asked in return for a clear waterway through the Dardanelles into the Mediterranean, is also beyond doubt. The annexation had been debated often before by Austria-Hungary and Russia, and had always been agreed to by the representatives of the Tsar, including General Kuropatkin and M. Izvolsky. The latter Minister had himself proposed annexation in his *aide-mémoire* of June—three months previously. This was doubtless the best policy that a Russian statesman could strike out in the Balkan Peninsula just then. Events have since shown that it was. Therefore it is unwise as well as incorrect to deny that Russia's assent was given at Buchlau to Austria's annexation scheme. It was given unmistakably.

Why should Russia decline to be a party to the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, after having herself more than once proposed, nay urged it? Nay, after having proposed and urged much more than this?

It is a fact not yet known, but none the less true, that the Russian Foreign Minister, not the tourist M. Izvolsky, proposed in 1908—*horribile dictu*—that Austria-Hungary should annex the Sandjak of Novi Bazar. Some weeks after having fumed and stormed at the Sandjak Railway Concession, Russia asks her rival to absorb the Sandjak, to swallow it whole. In this she proved to be more Austrian than Austria herself. Her Foreign Minister had wandered so far in one direction round the political globe seeking compensation for his country that he suddenly found himself in the opposite direction, in the same boat as his Austrian adversary, only on the captain's bridge.

In this proposal respecting the Sandjak M. Izvolsky was not assenting to a suggestion emanating from Austria-Hungary. The Vienna Cabinet never once wished to annex the Sandjak of Novi Bazar, never once broached the subject. It was Russia who suggested and advocated it. It was Austria who refused. That is why the Austro-Hungarian Government was so surprised at Russia's heated advocacy of Serbia's interests a few months later. If the Sandjak was not annexed, it was because Austria-Hungary for reasons into which it is needless now to enter declined to entertain the suggestion. Bosnia and Herzegovina was hers in virtue of Europe's will, of the long occupation, and of the money and labour spent in cultural work there.

On the Sandjak she harboured no designs. But if she had, Russia would have gladly connived at them. In truth she went much beyond passive connivance, she proceeded to stimulate. She had been dolefully complaining a few months before that the Sandjak Railway for which Austria had obtained a concession would split up Servia into two halves. And Servia is Russia's sister and protégée, whose interests are near and dear to her and must be safeguarded by the Tsar's Government at all costs. This tender concern for her Slav kindred seemed exaggerated to outsiders. Soon after it doubtless appeared exaggerated to Russia herself. Otherwise M. Izvolsky would not have asked Baron Aehrenthal to annex the Sandjak, which Servia regards as a quivering piece of her own flesh and blood, and the Ottoman Government as a piece of Turkish delight. And the Russian Minister made it quite spontaneously. This proposal confirmed the Austrian Government in their view that the annexation of the occupied provinces could not meet with real opposition from a nation which was ready to advance so very much further and approve not only the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, but also the absorption of the Sandjak.

The conclusions that follow from those facts embody the rectifications which it seemed opportune to make in the article of *Vox Et Praeterea Nihil*. And there is little doubt that the author of that essay, who is presumably devoted to the cause of historic truth, will welcome these slight contributions to a subject of such absorbing interest.

VOX ALTERAE PARTIS.

IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Now that the long, weary debates on the Finance Bill have worn to a close, the moment is not inappropriate for a swift, retrospective glance. Of the Budget itself enough and more has been said. Our question is, What of the Budgeteers? What reputations have been made or marred? How has the fight been fought by the opposing leaders and by the rank and file?

There is no need to dwell upon the unequal forces of the combatants. Too much, perhaps, may be made of that. Big battalions are often a mere embarrassment, save in the voting-lobbies. So long as an Opposition has enough able speakers to keep up a steady resistance without undue physical exhaustion, it matters little whether they are in a minority of one hundred or of two hundred. The fight has been extraordinarily keen, but without obstruction—as obstruction is understood at Westminster. Early on, it is true, there were occasions when opposition was carried to its utmost verge, and member after member rose to utter the same poor thought in the same poor language. But this was pardonable, for the Government were giving vicious turns to the screw by insisting on a succession of all-night sittings, and were making an undisguisedly brutal display of sheer physical force. Moreover, there were one or two moments when the Chair itself seemed in imminent peril of transformation into a party weapon, and feeling ran high. But the mood passed, and in the main even the severe discomforts of the all-night sittings were taken with fair good-humour.

Many members must retain pleasant recollections of one particularly merry hour, when two of the most authentic bores on the Radical side were seen slumbering on each other's shoulders as placidly as though they had lain on "the flowery lap of earth," while some dry technical point arising out of the increment value duty was being handled by a waggish speaker as though it were the thesis of a stump oration. Unionists have fought through the Session with splendid temper. The thrice-unhappy and most unwarrantable incident between Lord Winterton and a Labour member had a sobering effect. But there are not many "young bloods" on the Tory benches, and those who might have desired "to take the Chancellor of the Exchequer by the throat"—Mr. Lloyd George's own elegant phrase descriptive of the duty of an Opposition—have been sharply called off. The sheep-worrying has been left almost wholly to Mr. Timothy Healy, who is his

own leader. Had there been two or three Timothys among the Unionists, endowed with his unparalleled faculty of vituperative sarcasm, what a Session it might have been!

Of course, this absence of "scenes" was not wholly due to the forbearance of the Opposition. It must also be attributed, in part, to the manner in which Mr. Lloyd George conducted his enormous and unwieldy Bill. Nothing could have been more conciliatory. The Chancellor of the Exchequer displayed great adroitness and great good nature. A pleasanter-looking or a milder Chancellor never adorned the Treasury Bench. And the sweet reasonableness of the man! To hear him promise consideration of this point or of that! To see him assume his thoughtful look, as though genuinely concerned to discover whether he could not just manage to afford the concession his soul yearned to make! To note the quick nod of gracious assent to the voice of pleading! To watch the flashing lead-pencil follow the swift phases of his thought! To observe his keen appreciation of a joke, his manifest approachableness, his easy familiarity, his exceeding affability—it was difficult, indeed almost impossible, to go on hating the man so long as he was visible in the flesh before you. And at times when he sat, fixed and weary, through the long hours of the dawn, with white and haggard face thrown back, meek with the patient endurance of utter resignation, listening to the drone of mechanical amendments—it seemed a harsh thing to keep the poor sufferer from his bed. You forgot that it was he who ordained his torture—and yours.

But only at times! There is quite another side to Mr. Lloyd George. *Nil fuit unquam sic impar sibi*. Despite his conciliatory demeanour, the Chancellor is a most unsatisfactory antagonist in high debate. In a conversational argument over the table he may perhaps be kept to the point, but the moment he starts on a speech there is no holding him. He can't keep his robes about him. He lets himself go. He must be cheered, and his soul craves, not sober applause, but the partisan yell. The demagogue in him is insuppressible. It is his real nature. It is the very Lloyd George. Most of his speeches in the House of Commons—when he was not simply expounding his policy—slid into this platform style with its mass of melodramatic irrelevancies. His clinching argument was almost always conceived in the "Only a copper" strain—a sneer at the wealthy man who grudges the money for Old-Age Pensions; a jibe at the folks who won't pay for *Dreadnoughts* to keep their garden plots from the artillery wheels of the German invader; a thrust at the brewers who water their beer. Mr. Lloyd George has a real gift for perverting and distorting the reasoned argument of an opponent. He has a talent

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for inaccuracy of quotation and for citing fiscal examples from other countries in such a way as to convey a misleading impression of the real facts. No one accuses him of conscious or wilful misrepresentation. Not at all. The failing is a native, ineradicable "habit of the soul," like that lamentable tendency to vulgar abuse which invariably breaks out in his platform utterances, but which he has hitherto contrived to keep within tolerable bounds in the House of Commons since he became a Minister.

Mr. Lloyd George has made a great parade of conciliation. "Bring along your hard cases to me," he said, "and, if I can, I will remedy them." He invited deputations. "Come in your thousands!" he cried. They came, and it is an open secret that many of them left the presence absolutely aghast at the light-hearted way in which the Chancellor dealt with their vital interests, and at his profound ignorance of the effect of his own proposals. He wished to be fair, but nothing could make him see the gross and palpable injustice of his original proposals, which, as he has just told an astonished world, represented the considered wisdom of several Cabinet meetings. Yet the Budget has seemed to many a motley collection of incongruent incoherencies supplied by the cheap Radical Furnishing Companies of the day to eke out the *curta supellex* of the Chancellor's own mind. He has never seemed to grasp the Budget in its entirety, or to appreciate what its cumulative effect cannot fail to be. The Budget has been too big for him. The fiasco of the opening speech was prophetic of what was to come later. For all his blandishments in the House of Commons, he has conciliated no one. The real Lloyd George is the mob orator of Limehouse and Newcastle.

Naturally he has required relays of Ministers to uphold his arms during so protracted a fight, and now and then he has withdrawn altogether from the field. Mr. Asquith—who had scarcely been seen throughout the debates on the land taxes—took charge of the licensing section, but his championship was not very successful. His reasoned justification was promptly blown to fragments, especially the preposterous argument that the brewers ought to be grateful to him—even now—for remitting half the sugar duty when he was Chancellor. It was the Prime Minister, too, who in his best and most apostolic manner announced the various concessions to the Nationalists, as though the Government were yielding on the spot to the irresistible force of argument and there had been no huckstering behind the scenes. Mr. Asquith's chief triumphs during the Budget debates have been as a Parliamentary humorist—once when he made the House shake with laughter by his happy play upon the suggestion that the little

Chancellor had stolen the clothes of the portly Mr. Chaplin, and, more recently, when he gravely congratulated himself upon his singular fortune in possessing colleagues endowed with such an opulent variety and command of language, and thus adroitly evaded the awkward question whether he approved the Limehouse and Leicester performances of Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Winston Churchill. Mr. Herbert Samuel took charge of the Licensing Schedules—with the inevitable result that the tone of the debate was immediately exacerbated. The mere presence of the Chancellor of the Duchy serves to excite irritation in many Opposition breasts. He takes such an intense pleasure in saying “No,” in disappointing an expectation, in springing an awkward surprise, in stealthily dropping from above—he is always coldly superior—upon his prey.

The Attorney-General shared the arduous duties of the Chancellor throughout the debates on the land taxes, and both he and the Solicitor-General have the conspicuous merit of clarity of speech. Gossip at one time said that Sir William Robson did not like the land taxes. Yet he defended with the utmost pertinacity the letter of the original clauses, as though they had been the subject of divine inspiration, and afterwards the official emendations with a like enthusiasm. The Government view was his view at all times and seasons, and even his interpretation of the law chopped and varied with the mood of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Mr. Haldane was brought in occasionally to help with his easy gush of speech and argument; but good care was taken not to employ Mr. Ure. The Lord Advocate only intervened once or twice, though these were the very land taxes of which he has been the chief exponent in the country. His has been the forerunner's traditional reward. But he still exercises at large his peculiar talent for indiscretion and inaccuracy.

The real Parliamentary honours of the Session belong to Mr. Balfour. So long as he is in his place the weakness of his party is forgotten. The chief is a host in himself. That is fully acknowledged by Ministerialists. One afternoon, when Mr. Balfour was not present, though he had spoken earlier in the discussion, Mr. Lloyd George paid him a very handsome compliment by describing him as “easily the greatest Parliamentary critic of modern times.” The tribute was perfectly just. Mr. Balfour is a critic, first and foremost, and his criticism of the Budget has been deadly. When Radicals are still smarting under the lash they relieve their feelings by a sneer at “mere dialectics,” but in every corner of the House those dialectics are heartily enjoyed and sincerely admired, and it is entertaining to watch the silencing effect of Mr. Balfour's subtle oratory upon those who a few

minutes before have been lustily cheering some blustering assertion of Radical or Socialist doctrine. Throughout the Budget debates Mr. Balfour has kept steadily before the House the fact that the Government have singled out two forms of property for special and vindictive attack—land and licences—and have applied to them fiscal principles quite other than those which they apply to all remaining forms of property. He has commented again and again on the circumstance that the chief attractiveness of this policy to the Government is that their new burdens will fall upon comparatively small sections of the community, individually, it may be, strong, but collectively and electorally weak. Time and again he has exposed before a mocking Opposition the palpable meanness of Ministerial motives and stripped them bare of all disguises. He has made innumerable speeches—speeches long and short, speeches interrogatory and denunciatory, speeches angry and scornful, and speeches of a plain, uncoloured, explanatory kind. Mr. Balfour is a consummate Leader of a Parliamentary Opposition, but he does not merely oppose for the sake of opposing. His speeches on the income tax and the super-tax—in which he frankly accepted the principle of the latter as a necessity in these times of financial stress, and as a tax which at any rate had the fiscal virtue of applying fairly all round—practically settled that particular section of the Budget without further discussion. So, too, his remarkable speech on the proposal to enable those who succeed to an estate to pay death duties in land instead of in cash, if they can come to terms with the Commissioners. No one, again, asserted more convincingly the overwhelming claim of local authorities to a share, if not to the whole, of the proceeds of the new land taxes, especially as the Government's case was founded on the argument that increment is due entirely to the action of the community, and not to any enterprise or ability on the part of the owner. And when he pleaded for bare justice to the owners of licensed property—a subject upon which he is always at his best—he held up to fine scorn the repulsive and hypocritical guise of morality, under cover of which the Government have laid their "swingeing," ruinous, and revengeful duties upon the trade. The Budget has been a long and splendid duel between Mr. Balfour, on the one hand, and Mr. Lloyd George, Mr. Asquith, and the Attorney-General on the other, and has provided brilliant exhibitions of debating skill equal to any of recent times.

In Mr. Balfour's absence Mr. Austen Chamberlain usually took command, and his assiduity, both day and night, has been beyond praise. He, too, has spoken repeatedly, and it would be strange if so much practice had not brought him nearer per-

fection. Once or twice, indeed, notably when the Government laid their new valuation proposals before the Committee, Mr. Austen Chamberlain spoke with a touch of his father's fire. His tongue was loosened; he shook himself free from that stickiness which mars most of his speeches; and he laid about him with a will. The Unionist party owes him much. It owes, perhaps, even more to Mr. Pretymann, whose return to the House of Commons in time for the Budget has been a matter for general congratulation. Mr. Pretymann is acknowledged to have an unrivalled and practical knowledge of the land question, and his speeches through the long, intricate, and technical discussions on increment-value duty, reversion duty, and undeveloped land duty were most masterly. He was never at a loss and never put off the point by those who strove to divert his attention or confuse his judgment. Mr. Pretymann invariably had his subject well in hand, and carried in his mind not only the particular tax under debate, but also its relation to the rest of the land taxes and to the other heavy burdens on land. He never let the Committee forget for long the essentially cumulative force of the new imposts, and landowners have to thank him more than anyone else for being relieved of the cost of valuation which the State has now taken on its own shoulders. Sir Edward Carson has frequently laid on the backs of the Government the long, slow, cutting lash of his sarcasm, and none protested more effectually against the manifest eagerness of the Government to rob the subject of his traditional right of appeal to the High Courts and to place the control of the fiscal machinery of the State in the hands of the Treasury and their officials, superseding the House of Commons by Treasury minutes. Mr. Lyttelton has been resourceful, steady, and sure, a sound rather than a brilliant advocate, and one who never embitters debate. Why his antithesis, Mr. Bonar Law, has taken so small a part in the attack is a matter for speculation. His barbed arrows are most effective, and, moreover, he possesses the quality of fluency which is so surprisingly lacking on the Front Opposition Bench. Mr. Law speaks very rapidly, but he keeps hitting all the time—even though some of the blows are no more than taps. Mr. Walter Long, absent during the earlier part of the Session, signalled his return by founding the Budget Protest League, and resumed his place at Mr. Balfour's side as one of his best and most trustworthy lieutenants. He is the agreeable incarnation of the plain, common-sense, reasonable view. Mr. Clyde proved a very useful recruit when Scotch matters were under discussion. Mr. Chaplin zealously championed the agricultural interest, and added at any rate rotundity to the debate; but the Unionist cause

received little or no help during the long Budget struggle from Mr. Wyndham, Mr. Stuart-Wortley, Mr. Arthur Lee, Mr. Forster, Lord Edmund Talbot, and a number of other gentlemen who have a prescriptive right to sit in the place of authority.

Among the private members on the Unionist back benches who have put up so gallant a fight, it is not difficult to pick out the few who have gained special distinction. Everyone would include Lord Robert Cecil, the sworn foe of Socialism and of the growing incubus of bureaucracy, the acute and unsparing critic, restless, sincere, a little too inclined to take upon himself the office of censor, but fearless and honest, and careless of any judgment save that of his own conscience. He has the willing ear of the House. So has Mr. Cave, one of the fairest of controversialists, a speaker without a trace of Lord Robert's passion, who never raises his voice or lifts a hand in gesture. He never gets up unless he has a good case; he never sits down without having sensibly influenced opinion. Another of the quiet members who has won an assured position this Session is Mr. Salter. He, too, is not given to hasty improvisation. On all the technical points of the land taxes, Mr. Watson Rutherford, a Liverpool solicitor, rendered invaluable service by his skill in raising searching objections, though he has a way of treating the House rather as a County Court than as a High Court. Mr. F. E. Smith let loose from time to time his facile floods of caustic comment, sparkling and clever and amusing to listen to, but lacking in depth. On all matters relating to licensing and business, Mr. Younger took a clear and decided lead, and spoke with authoritative voice, and on the highly specialised subject of the stamp duties Major Coates made a single speech which drew well-deserved eulogies from all quarters. Of the rest, one might distinguish the tireless—but ever genial—resistance of Sir Frederick Banbury, who has solved the problem of perpetual amendment; the biting sarcasms of Mr. Lambton; the joyous irresponsibility of Captain Craig. In the hard work of persistent attendance and conscientious speech-making, none have deserved better of their party than Mr. Faber, Mr. Hope, Mr. Mason, Mr. L. Hardy, and Mr. S. Roberts; but a score of others could be mentioned with equal claim. It cannot be said that the Session has brought to light much political talent of unsuspected quality. The Unionist benches do not shine in vivid debating power. But never did a party give its leaders more untiring support or make more cheerful sacrifice of its leisure.

The main duty of Ministerialists was to sit and listen, and a Cabinet Minister the other day dwelt upon the stern self-effacement to which so many "fine debaters" have submitted for so

long. The time is coming when their tongues will be loosened. To talk freely was a dangerous sign of independence, unpleasing to the Government ear. Such independents were few. The most conspicuous and the ablest was Mr. Harold Cox, who stood for intellectual honesty and for a refreshing freedom from all sorts of political cant. No one more mercilessly exposed the fallacies and inconsistencies of the land taxes; no one dared so boldly to hold up a mirror even before the "awful face" of the Labour party. His reward is to be flung aside by the Liberal Executive at Preston, and the probabilities are that the last of the old-fashioned Liberal individualists will not be seen again at Westminster. *Laudatur et alget*. Mr. Cox stood alone on his side in his attitude of uncompromising hostility to the land taxes. But several other Liberals showed opposition in a less degree. For a moment it seemed as though the group which sympathised with Sir John Dickson-Poynder and Mr. Munro-Ferguson were about to form a cave. But the landless Radicals threatened vigorous reprisals, and when the Government made important concessions to the agricultural interest, the solidarity of the Liberal anti-land taxers speedily melted away.

The taxes are still disliked, and such Radicals as Sir Robert Perks and Sir Thomas Whittaker are still unreconciled. Mr. Ridsdale, one of the real moderates in the House, has just taken a sorrowful leave of his party, after making the tardy discovery that his friends are marching under the Red Flag. Neither he nor Mr. Beck—another independently-minded Radical—will seek re-election. Mr. J. D. Rees, the prickliest of thorns in the side of the Cottons and Byleses and Mackarnesses, is another Liberal who has dared to have a mind of his own. The leading non-official Liberal lawyers—Mr. Rufus Isaacs, Mr. Buckmaster, and Mr. Simon—joined their learned brethren opposite in the protest against the refusal of an appeal to the High Court from the Special Commissioners, but, when that point was conceded, lapsed to absolute acquiescence. On the licensing section, vigorous opposition came from Mr. Barnard and Mr. Bottomley. Mr. Belloc commented incisively on the "shocking cruelty" of the new schedules and the "preposterous theory that it is immoral to drink fermented liquor," and a few London Liberals pleaded for some mitigation of the crushing burden that will fall on the trade in London. But, when it came to vote, their courage oozed away. Independence is not quite dead, it would seem, but the soil of the House of Commons is getting less and less congenial to its growth. As for the eager group of land-taxers, led by Mr. Josiah Wedgwood, they beamed effusively on the Chancellor at the outset. But when he began to make serious concessions and transmuted the

tax on the capital value of ungotten minerals into a tax on royalties, the smiles gave way to scowls. Their hearts, as Mr. McKenna said last year, are "filled with rage."

The contribution from the Labour members to the sum of fiscal knowledge has been quite infinitesimal. They have been content to register their votes. During whole stretches of the Session their special quarter in the House has been as deserted as the Irish quarter above them, though it filled up for the set debates and the more important pronouncements of policy. Those who have spoken more than a few fragmentary sentences can be numbered on one hand. The Chairman, Mr. Henderson, has the narrow, suspicious outlook of a bigoted local preacher. Mr. Snowden, the Socialist candidate for the Chancellorship of the Exchequer, spoke once or twice with considerable violence on the land taxes, but his chief passion is to relieve the working classes of the whole burden of indirect taxation, except on tobacco and liquors. Mr. Keir Hardie's generous heart has been too busy bleeding over the infamy of British rule in India and the woes of the Suffragettes at home to spare a throb for the Budget. In fact, Mr. Ramsay Macdonald is the only Labour member whose Budget speeches have been at all noteworthy. Some of the brief contributions he made while the most technical parts of the increment-value duty were under discussion were incisive, practical, and full of dry light, and only once did he startle the House by the exceeding bitterness with which he faced the Unionists above the gangway and denounced the landlords as robbers who for centuries had been filching the land of the people and grinding the faces of the poor. A few mining members spoke well, if rabidly, when the mineral taxes were being discussed, but on the whole the Labour members have made no mark. They approve the Budget and say it is theirs—so far as it goes. And it goes a very long way.

AUDITOR TANTUM.

HOW THE UNIONISTS MIGHT WIN THE GENERAL ELECTION.

A GENERAL ELECTION is impending, and preparations on an unprecedented scale are being made for the contest. From every platform we are exhorted to prepare for the struggle. Columns of electioneering speeches and of electioneering news are crowding out the ordinary contents of our newspapers. Already the hoardings are becoming covered with political posters and cartoons. Householders are being bombarded with campaign literature. In clubs, railway carriages, and omnibuses, wherever people congregate, the coming General Election is the chief topic of conversation, and foreign politics, sport, and society news have lost their interest. Never in modern times have the people so deeply been stirred by the prospect of a General Election, for never in modern times were greater issues put to the hazard of the popular vote. Men feel that Great Britain stands at the parting of the ways. They feel that the next General Election will not only decide the fate of the Budget, of Tariff Reform, and of the House of Lords, but that it will also decide the future of Great Britain and of the Empire. The political augurs of both parties are already studying the signs and omens of the times, and are making their forecasts. The Liberal leaders predict that their Party will come back with a large majority. The Unionists think that either the Unionist Party will obtain a small majority, or that the Liberal Party will return with so small a majority that it will be powerless for mischief. Had the Unionists made the best use of their opportunities, had they in the past but known their own strength, they need not now have any doubt as to the result of the coming contest. The Unionist Party is the national party. The British nation is not a Liberal-Radical-Socialist but a Conservative nation. The present House of Commons, with its flabby, cosmopolitan, and un-national sentimentalism, and its predilections for Socialism and bureaucratic absolutism, misrepresents a male, individualistic, patriotic, and Imperial race.

That the British nation is not Liberal but Conservative can easily be seen by its Press, for the Press is the mirror of the people. The bulk of our great papers, half-crown reviews, six-penny weeklies, and penny and halfpenny dailies, are Unionist. In the *Daily News* of October 14th we read: "The Conservative quasi-monopoly of the public Press is becoming a national danger. The journalist who is a Liberal or Socialist can only

find one possible employer to twenty that can be found by a man who is willing to write up Tariff Reform and the 'interests.' The great majority of writers are Liberals or Socialists, while the great majority of British newspapers are now Conservative."

It is true that great British newspapers used to be Liberal, but their political character has changed with the change in the views of the public for which they cater. The frequently-heard Liberal assertion that the Unionist Party has "bought" the great papers is a palpable untruth. Newspaper readers are the most fickle of all customers, and they must be humoured. A newspaper can exist only as long as the views which it expresses are agreeable to the people who read it. Hence no newspaper can afford to force on its readers political views which they find unpalatable. Besides, if there were a great Liberal public yearning for Liberal papers, the commercial instinct of publishers of both Parties would cause Liberal papers to spring up like mushrooms, for business is business. In London are published the Unionist *Times*, and three Unionist penny morning papers, the *Daily Telegraph*, *Morning Post*, and *Standard*, but not a single Liberal penny morning paper. The attempt to start a great Liberal penny morning paper, the *Tribune*, was made in 1906, when Liberalism was triumphant in Parliament. The *Tribune* proved a disastrous failure, although it was an excellent paper. In London are published three great penny evening papers on the Unionist side, the *Evening Standard*, the *Globe*, and the *Pall Mall Gazette*, and only one, the *Westminster Gazette*, on the Liberal side. Of the two Unionist half-penny morning papers published in London, the *Daily Mail* alone has probably as large a circulation as have the Liberal *Daily News*, *Daily Chronicle*, and *Morning Leader* combined, and the circulation of the *Daily Express* is about twice as large as is that of the *Daily News*.

The fact that Great Britain is not a Liberal but a Conservative nation is confirmed by the history of all recent General Elections. During the life-time of the present generation, the Liberal Party has been ignominiously defeated in every General Election which was fought on a great national issue such as Home Rule and the South African War. All the electoral victories of the Liberal Party, without exception, have been won over a number of comparatively unimportant side-issues, and they have been won largely by trickery, misrepresentation, and political bribery. The nation is Unionist at heart, and it votes Unionist whenever danger threatens the country from within or without.

The great majority of the cultured are Conservatives. Nine Members of Parliament are elected by the Universities—namely,

two for Oxford, two for Cambridge, one for London, one for Edinburgh, one for Glasgow, and two for Dublin. Since 1885 not a single Liberal has been returned for any of these nine seats. At the last General Election, out of 25,771 University votes recorded, 21,505 were Unionist, and only 4,266 were Liberal. Apparently four-fifths of the University men of this country are Conservatives. In a noteworthy article entitled "Money and Brains in Politics," which every Unionist politician should read, Mr. A. A. Baumann wrote in last month's issue of this review: "I do not think that any Radical would deny that three-fourths of the educated intelligence of the nation are Conservative. Take the squires, lawyers, clergymen, doctors, engineers, merchants, financiers, authors, artists, journalists, professors, and men of science—will anyone deny that 75 per cent. of these people are Conservatives?"

The electoral victories of the Liberal Party are due mainly to the following two causes:—

1. To the Parliamentary over-representation of the Liberal element.
2. To the greater skill and greater unscrupulousness of the Liberal Party leaders, and to lack of talent and ability among the Unionists.

The Liberal Party is a Party which flourishes by bluff and make-believe. It is true that the Liberals command an immense majority in Parliament, but their Parliamentary majority is out of all proportion to the majority of votes cast in their favour, as the following figures show:—

ELECTION RESULTS OF 1906 IN ALL CONSTITUENCIES.

	Votes given to the Unionist Party.	Votes given to the Liberal, Nationalist, and Labour Parties.
Votes cast	2,528,597	4,026,704
Members of Parliament returned	157	513

The disproportion between the votes cast and the Members of Parliament elected in *all* elections is apparent from the following figures:—

Majority of Liberal votes	... + 59 per cent.
Majority of Liberal Members of Parliament	... + 227 "

As a matter of fact, the foregoing figures greatly understate the proportion of Unionist votes to Liberal votes. They give the election results for *all* constituencies, including those which were uncontested by Unionists. A truer test of the balance of political opinion is afforded by a comparison of the Unionist and the non-Unionist vote in those elections which were actually con-

tested by both Parties. If such a comparison is made, we obtain the following figures :—

ELECTION RESULTS OF 1906 IN ALL CONTESTED ELECTIONS.

	Votes given to the Unionist Party.	Votes given to the Liberal, Nationalist, and Labour Parties.
Votes cast	2,463,606	3,168,595
Members of Parliament returned	144	412

The disproportion between the votes of the people and the Parliamentary representatives elected in all *contested* elections is apparent from the following figures :—

Majority of Liberal Votes	+ 29 per cent.
Majority of Liberal Members of Parliament	+ 186 "

In 1906 the whole British electorate consisted of 7,266,708 men entitled to vote. In all the contested elections the majority of the Liberals and of all their allies over the Unionists was, in round numbers, 700,000, or 10 per cent. of all the electors. Hence a transference of 350,000 votes, or of 5 per cent. of the electors, from the Liberal to the Unionist side would have balanced the two Parties, and would have given the identical number to either. The foregoing figures show that the boast of the Liberals that they have swept the country from end to end and that they represent by an overwhelming majority the will of the people, is an audacious misrepresentation of fact which is constantly made in order to make the masses believe that the crushing majority of the Liberals of 356 members, or of 227 per cent. in the House of Commons, is represented by an equally crushing majority in the country. Rightly considered, the Liberal majority of 227 per cent. in the House of Commons membership is represented by a majority of only 10 per cent. in the country. A turnover of 5 per cent., or 350,000, of the votes from the Liberal to the Unionist side, counting 700,000 on a division, will, if it is fairly evenly distributed, abolish the supremacy of the Liberals; and there may be a greater turnover than 5 per cent. of the votes at the next General Election. Liberals delight in arrogating to themselves all the virtues, yet if we not merely count, but also weigh, votes, it will be found that Liberalism is not only numerically greatly over-represented in Parliament, but that Liberalism is inferior to Unionism, that Liberalism rather represents hostility to the Union, ignorance, and envy than national intelligence, enlightenment, ability, and industry. Illiterate, priest-ridden Ireland, with 4,300,000 inhabitants, should, according to the number of the people, have 69 members. Yet Ireland sends 101 members to Parliament,

mostly supporters of Liberalism. On the other hand, the Conservative metropolis, with more than 5,000,000 inhabitants, sends only 62 members to Parliament. London and our great provincial towns, the seats of industry, ability, intelligence, and capital, are Unionist and are under-represented. Rural Ireland and the whole Celtic fringe are Liberal and are over-represented. Liberalism flourishes on the over-representation of the most backward parts of the country, and on the ignorance, envy, and hostility to the Union of its inhabitants, and Liberalism uses these backward elements for combating the intelligence, industry, and capital of the principal parts of Great Britain which are under-represented in Parliament. Owing to the character of its supporters, it is in the interest of Liberalism to promote ignorance, sectional strife, envy, and hostility to the Union, to crush industry, and to destroy capital. Liberalism is distinctly anti-national in its character, and it flourishes best on the decay which it creates.

I have shown in the foregoing that Liberalism is very greatly over-represented, both as regard the number of votes and the quality of the voters. I shall now show that Liberalism owes its success to the greater skill and unscrupulousness of Liberal politicians on the one side, and to lack of talent and ability among Unionists on the other side.

In his article "Money and Brains in Politics," published in the last issue of this review, Mr. Baumann drew attention to the fact that Conservative candidates for Parliament are selected rather on account of their means than of their political ability. This policy has undoubtedly caused the loss of many a General Election. The well-to-do, well-meaning, and somewhat obstinate Unionist gentlemen in the House of Commons impart a character of well-meaning dullness not only to the House of Commons proceedings, but they act also as a dead weight upon their leaders, and they dull the activity of the Party organisations outside the House. The vis inertia of well-to-do but dull members dominates, not only in the House of Commons and in its Executive Committee, the Unionist Cabinet, but also in outside Party organisations such as the Conservative Central Office, the Tariff Reform League, and the Budget Protest League, to the great harm of their efficiency. The Liberal Party looks rather for brains than for money. It consists largely of *homines novi*, and it is always anxious to receive new blood and new ideas. Every impecunious lawyer, writer, or working man is welcome if he possesses political ability or debating power. Rich men are satisfied, slow, and unenterprising. Poor men have the ambition and the determination to succeed, and they are willing to work hard and to

hustle, which is the secret of all success. Unionist Members of Parliament, being men of means, go to Parliament as a pastime. They mean to take things easily and to enjoy themselves. Such men do not plod and scheme and worry. They do not like to take trouble, and they do not know how to meet the attacks of their more skilful and less scrupulous opponents. The taunt of the Liberals that the Unionist Party is the stupid Party is not entirely undeserved.

The Unionists have made it difficult for themselves to win the next General Election owing to the following circumstances :—

1. By allowing wealth and social standing to preponderate over political ability, the Unionist Party has dulled the fighting edge of its political organisations. Lacking an Intelligence Department, these organisations act, as a rule, unintelligently and wastefully, and a shilling given to a Liberal organisation goes almost as far as a sovereign given to a Unionist organisation.

2. By trying to reserve Parliament and political honours to men of wealth and social standing, the Unionist Party has driven working men with political ambition and influence into the Liberal camp. Thus it has estranged the leaders of the working men, such as the Trades Union officials, and, through them, the working men themselves.

Great Britain has become a democracy. The rule of Whigs and Tories has come to an end. The country is Conservative, Unionist, and Imperialist at heart. To secure the permanent preponderance of the Unionist Party against the forces of destruction and of disorder, we must democratise the Unionist Party.

Unionist workmen members of Parliament are wanted. It is, of course, too late to democratise the Unionist Party and to reform its organisation in time for the next General Election. Therefore the question arises : "What can be done to secure for the Unionist Party the victory in the approaching struggle?"

Notwithstanding the great mistakes which the Unionist Party has made in the past, the outlook is hopeful. The Unionist Party has a great, national and popular cause, and a great constructive policy which is bound to prove victorious if the Party knows how to put its policy clearly before the electors, and if it knows how to defend itself against the misrepresentations of its opponents. Both these purposes can, after my opinion, best be achieved by the well-timed issue of a comprehensive Party programme.

A Party programme of the usual kind, a vaguely worded and hastily drawn up short address by the leader of the Opposition to the electors in his own constituency, is quite insufficient. What

is wanted is a well-considered manifesto which explains clearly and in all its bearings, concisely, yet adequately, in full detail, and in language which is so popular as to be understood by every voter, the policy which the Unionist Party intends to carry out if returned to power, and which at the same time clearly explains that the policy of the Liberal-Socialist Party is bound to end in disaster. Such a full explanation is all the more necessary as the Liberal-Socialists can win the General Election only by skill, unscrupulousness, and trickery. They know that they are bound to lose the coming election if they have to fight it on a great national issue such as Tariff Reform. They remember that they have lost every General Election which was fought on a great national issue. A live national issue is fatal to the Liberal Party. Therefore the Liberals are desperately anxious to obscure the main issue by various side issues, such as the Land Problem, the Budget, and the veto of the House of Lords, and by circulating the Old Age Pensions lie. Unionists can enter the General Election with absolute confidence provided they make the best use of their opportunities, enlighten the electors and do not allow their opponents to misrepresent their aims.

A great policy must appeal at the same time to the national common-sense and to the imagination. It must draw attention to the real needs of the individual and of the State. It must propose practical measures for the relief of the sufferings of the people and at the same time promise greatness and power to the State. It must cause the citizen to go to the polling station with the idea that with his vote he is not only benefiting himself and his family, but adding also to the glory and power of the country and the Empire; that his vote is not merely a means of helping a set of politicians to power, but that his vote is an historic act of far-reaching importance.

Men have to look after themselves before they can look after the welfare of the State and of the Empire. Let us therefore consider the Unionist programme firstly as it affects the individual and then as it affects the State and the Empire.

The principal needs of the worker are employment and good wages whilst he is in health, succour when he is stricken down with misfortune, accident, old age, or disease, and opportunities for laying up a competency towards his old age whilst he is well employed and well paid.

The Unionist Party will secure good employment and good wages to the workers by Tariff Reform. According to the statistical abstract for the United Kingdom published by the Board of Trade, the following manufactured articles were imported into Great Britain in 1908 :—

MANUFACTURED ARTICLES IMPORTED INTO GREAT BRITAIN IN 1908.

	£
Manufactures of iron and steel	7,681,512
Manufactures of other metals	24,659,602
Cutlery, hardware, &c.	3,750,177
Electric goods and apparatus	4,552,904
Ships	18,199
Manufactures of wood and furniture	1,970,917
Cotton yarn and manufactures	9,475,795
Woollen yarn and manufactures	9,500,056
Silk and other yarns and manufactures	18,939,087
Apparel	4,200,819
Chemicals, dyes, &c.	10,185,617
Leather and manufactures thereof	11,562,700
Earthenware and glass	3,685,330
Paper	5,798,665
Motor-cars, artificial flowers, fancy goods, pianos, and various	25,840,455
Total	£143,085,597

A glance at the foregoing table shows that the manufactured articles which we import from abroad are of exactly the same kind as are those which are manufactured every day in Manchester and Birmingham, in Leeds and Sheffield, in Nottingham and Glasgow; that they are articles of a kind which English workers used to make, which they still can make, and which they ought to make again.

On an average we imported during the last three years, according to the statistics furnished by the Board of Trade, £150,000,000 of manufactured articles into Great Britain. In reality the amount is considerably larger, firstly, because certain manufactured goods are not included among manufactured goods by the Board of Trade; and, secondly, because the value of imported manufactures is habitually understated. If an average duty of 10 per cent. be imposed on all imported manufactures it should exclude part, let us say one-half, of these articles. Hence a 10 per cent. duty should yield to the Exchequer £7,500,000 a year on £75,000,000 of manufactured articles imported. The other £75,000,000 of manufactured goods which we now import from abroad would, in consequence of the tariff, have to be made by British labour. Let us therefore inquire: How much of these £75,000,000 will go into wages?

It is usually estimated that 50 per cent. of the value of manufactured goods represent wages. That estimate is far too low, because the total of the manufacturers' and middlemen's profits goes back to labour. Manufacturers and middlemen either invest the money which they receive or they spend it on themselves; but whether they do the one or the other, so much is clear, that

they can buy with their money practically only objects which are made by labour. Hence their whole profits go back to labour. Practically the only part of the price of our manufactures which does not go back to British labour is the value of the foreign raw materials contained in them, for the sums spent on foreign raw material, such as cotton, silk, india-rubber, &c., go to foreign labour. If we estimate that one-third of the value of our manufactured imports consists of foreign raw material—the estimate is in reality far too high—it appears that by securing £75,000,000 of additional work to British workers we secure to them at the same time £50,000,000 of additional wages per year. The average wage of our male and female wage-earners is a pound a week, or about £50 a year. A 10 per cent. tariff on imported manufactures should therefore secure permanent work and full wages for 1,000,000 wage-earners and their families. The unemployment problem would be solved.

The principal argument of the Liberals against Tariff Reform is "Your food will cost you more," and they protest vociferously against the wickedness of taxing bread, the prime necessity of the poor. These protests are hypocritical. The prime necessity of the worker is not bread, but employment, and Free Trade is a tax on employment. No Unionist intends to raise the price of the food of the poor, although he may wish to put a duty on foreign wheat and meat in order to encourage the production of wheat and meat in Great Britain and the Colonies, and to enable us to secure for the manufactures made by British workers a substantial preference and a great and secure outlet in the Colonial markets. After all, tea and sugar are as much prime necessities of life as is bread itself, for even the poorest of the poor cannot live on bread and water alone. Yet duties yielding more than £10,000,000 a year are imposed on tea and sugar. The cost of food of the poor would evidently not be raised by one penny to any family if we shifted the £10,000,000 of duties which are now imposed upon tea and sugar from these commodities upon wheat and meat. By making this exchange no family in the land would spend any more on its food than it does now. Very likely it would spend less. Very small duties, such as 4 or 5 per cent., have no effect on retail prices. A duty of from 4 to 5 per cent. on foreign wheat and meat would probably be borne by the foreign producer. However, if bread and meat should cost a trifle more to the British buyer—and this is doubtful—tea and sugar would cost considerably less, owing to the repeal of the duties on them. Thus the living expense of the workers would not be increased by the rearrangement of our food taxes, whilst

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on the other hand the workers would earn more owing to Tariff Reform.

Notwithstanding the declarations of the Liberals about the big and the little loaf, Tariff Reform is not a tax on food, but Free Trade is certainly a tax, and a very heavy one, on employment and on wages. Free Trade, by taxing exclusively our own industries and allowing the productions of foreign manufacturers to enter our country untaxed, provides greater facilities for the more lightly taxed foreign manufacturers to sell their wares in our markets than it does for the heavily taxed British manufacturer. It treats the foreigner more favourably than it does the Englishman. Thus Free Trade restricts the facilities of our own highly-taxed industries for the sale of their wares, and throws their workers out of employment, taxes British work and wages, subsidises foreign workers, and transfers British work from British hands to foreign workers. In those trades in which foreign competition is keenest Free Trade depresses British wages to, and even below, the lowest level of foreign wages. The fact that Free Trade is a tax on employment and on wages cannot be denied; and if, in the Unionist Election Manifesto, our workers are asked whether they will rather have Tariff Reform taxes which protect British labour, create employment, and increase wages in Great Britain, or Free Trade taxes which create unemployment and lower wages in Great Britain, and which provide work and wages for the foreigner, I have little doubt as to their answer.

A respectable working man who earns good wages wishes to save. At present his opportunities for investing his savings are very unsatisfactory. The interest given by our savings banks is too low, and stocks and shares are too speculative for working men. The most satisfactory investments for workers are land and houses. By owning his land or cottage the working man can at the same time reduce his rent to two-thirds or even to one-half of its present amount, and secure an investment which is always before his eyes, and which it is really worth saving money for. Every thrifty worker likes to have a piece of land or a cottage of his own. However, leaseholds, being wasting securities, are very unsatisfactory investments. Small freeholds are not easily obtainable, and the transfer of the title is very expensive and cumbersome. Therefore it is most desirable that the Government should enable every respectable worker in town and country who wishes to acquire a piece of the land on which he works or the cottage in which he lives to do so. It is the policy of the Liberal-Socialist Party to make "the community" the universal landlord, to nationalise the land, to create small leaseholders who lease their land from the County Council, and to make the

purchase of freehold land as difficult as possible to the workers. With this end in view, the Small Holdings Act of 1907 provided that the County Councils should be empowered to acquire land compulsorily from private owners and to lease, not sell, this land, in small holdings to intending cultivators. In order to make the purchase of land still more difficult to the workers than it is already, Mr. Lloyd George has added in his Budget a stamp duty of 1 per cent. to the already prohibitive cost of land transfer in small parcels.

Whilst it is apparently the policy of the Liberal-Socialist Party to make "the community" the universal landlord in accordance with orthodox Socialist teaching, it is the policy of the Unionist Party to settle the people on the land in town and country. Mr. Balfour stated in his great speech of September 22nd at Birmingham :—

I have always been one of those who have ardently desired to see, and still hope to see, the ownership of agricultural land distributed in an incomparably greater number of hands than it now is. There is no measure with which I am more proud to have been connected than that which has had the effect of giving peasant ownership on a large scale to Ireland, and I hope to see a great expansion of such ownership in England. Nothing can be more desirable. Nothing can be more important. I therefore look forward with hope and eager expectation to a time when a Government may come in, not hampered, clogged, and bound by these Socialistic crotchets, and adapt to the very different conditions of life in this country what a Unionist Government has already done with such marked success for the sister island.

Lord Lansdowne stated on August 7th at Bowood :—

The doctrine of making the land of the country national property is not one which the working classes of the country will in any sense or degree approve. What I believe the people desire is that the transfer of land should be cheap and easy, that it should be as widely distributed as possible, and that those who get possession of a bit of land should hold it, not as tenants from the nation, but as their own property, belonging absolutely to them. That is the ideal of the party to which I have the honour to belong.

In a letter dated October 15th, Mr. Chamberlain wrote to Mr. J. F. Green, the Secretary of the Rural Labourers' League :—

I have no doubt that, while I still think Tariff Reform will be the salvation of the inhabitants of the towns, agricultural reform, leading to the creation of a peasant proprietorship in the rural districts, is necessary for the agricultural labourer, and is, indeed, the only plan by which the problem affecting him can be properly dealt with.

All the leaders of the Unionist Party are in favour of distributing the ownership of land as widely as possible. Their ideal is "Every man his own landlord."

If the country parts of Great Britain, which Free Trade has desolated, were as densely peopled per square mile as are the country parts of Germany, there would be room for 10,000,000 additional people in the country who could live on the land. I have given detailed calculations elsewhere, but I cannot repeat them in this review for lack of space. We may therefore safely estimate that, by re-creating our agriculture, we shall be able to settle gradually at least 5,000,000 people in the country. Mr. Balfour, Lord Lansdowne, and Mr. Chamberlain have announced a great policy which will be of the highest importance to our workers. It should change the unhealthy exodus from the country to the towns into an exodus from the towns to the country, and should solve the problem of congestion in the towns.

Tariff Reform and Land Reform are parts of the same great constructive policy. Tariff Reform, the Liberals sneeringly say, is Protection. Tariff Reform is indeed Protection. It is the protection of British labour in town and country. It is the protection of the natural resources of the country and of the Empire. It is the protection of the health and strength of the people. Consequently all Tariff Reformers are anxious to re-create British agriculture, to strengthen the race, and to re-settle the countryside. Our land system is out of date, and it is a serious obstacle to the re-settlement of the country. Therefore Tariff Reformers think that Tariff Reform and Land Reform, the re-creation of our manufacturing industries and of our rural industries, should go hand in hand.

All the leaders of the Unionist Party have pledged themselves to a policy of land settlement on the broadest basis. They have pledged themselves to a policy of using the credit of the State for assisting respectable workers of every kind to buy at a reasonable price the land which they till and the house they live in. And if in a Unionist Election Manifesto the electors are asked whether they wish for a crazy settlement of the land problem, such as the Liberal-Socialists try to effect, or for a common-sense settlement which the Unionists favour, if they are asked whether they would like to have "the community" for landlord or whether they would rather be their own landlords, I have little doubt as to their answer.

It is only fair that the State should succour the workers when stricken down with misfortune, accident, old age, and disease. Such national insurances exist already in Germany and in other countries. Great Britain used to be a model to all States in matters of social policy, and she cannot afford to be shamed by the social legislation of any other country. Besides, if Germany and other countries can afford to insure their workers against the

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various misfortunes which may befall them, we can do likewise provided we follow their precedent and example and are willing to profit by their experience." A national system of insurance against unemployment has been studied in every foreign country, and every foreign country has found such insurance impracticable. The best insurance against unemployment as far as this country is concerned is to lay down the rule that the Government must see that British workers shall be employed in preference to foreigners wherever possible, and that all British work shall, as far as is practicable, be done by British workers. Free Trade has sacrificed our rural industries to our manufacturing industries. It has sacrificed our workers, of whom it has taken little account, to the cheapness of "commodities," upon which it has laid great store, and it has driven millions of British workers out of the country. Tariff Reform means to develop all British industries harmoniously. It means to place men, not below, but above goods, and to maintain the British standard of living for British working men.

The Unionist Manifesto should appeal not only to the interests of the individual and bid him support a policy which should improve his employment, raise his wages, secure him against misfortune, enable him to buy a cottage and land which will be his and his children's for ever—a policy which should make his life brighter, fuller, worthier, and happier than it is now. The Manifesto should remind him that the country has a claim upon him, that the country is in danger, and that it wants his aid. Liberalism is better at pulling down than at building up, and it has entered upon the most comprehensive wrecking policy in its history. The country is threatened by the present Government at the same time with Socialism, with the destruction of its Constitution, with the dissolution of the British Union and the disintegration of the Empire. On October 7th Mr. John Redmond, the Chairman of the Irish Parliamentary Party, sent a telegram to Mr. M. J. Ryan, of Philadelphia, President of the United Irish League of America, in which he stated: "A great crisis in the Irish struggle has arisen. A General Election is certain within the next few weeks. In that election the veto of the House of Lords will be at stake, and with the veto of the House of Lords will disappear the last obstacle to Home Rule." The House of Lords has proved the only bulwark against the dissolution of the Union in the past, and, in the words of Mr. Redmond, it will prove the only bulwark against Home Rule in the future. The Liberals mean to destroy that bulwark, and there are strong indications that the Liberal Party, if it should be returned to power at the next General Election, will have to

give Home Rule to Ireland the first place in its legislative programme.

The Unionist Party will not only maintain inviolate the Union of the United Kingdom, but it will strive to effect a greater union, the union of the British Empire. It wishes to establish an indissoluble partnership between Great Britain and the great dominions overseas, and to secure for centuries to come prosperity, peace, power, and unity to the British Empire, and so secure the great British heritage to the British race. The Liberals have neglected the Empire while they were in office. They have flouted the wishes of the daughter States for a closer union between Motherland and Colonies. The Liberal Party proposes to attack simultaneously the fabric of Society and our Constitution. It threatens to break up the State and the Empire. Great Britain stands at the parting of the ways. The road which the Liberals bid us tread leads to strife, decline, and to decay; the other which the Unionists wish us to follow leads to greatness, peace, and prosperity. Which road do the people desire to take? If in the Unionist Election Manifesto the electors are asked whether they wish to hand the State and the Empire over to the wreckers, or whether they will help in establishing firmly and securely for generations to come a Greater Britain, I have little doubt as to their answer, for the nation is sound and patriotic at heart.

The Unionist programme may be summed up in three short sentences: British work for British workers; every man his own landlord; the British Empire for the British race. The policy embodied in these three sentences will appeal to the great majority of electors. The Radicals won the last General Election by deliberate misrepresentations of the Unionist policy by the big loaf lie and by the Chinese slavery lie. Let us take steps in time to enlighten the people as to the policy of the Unionist Party, and so make Radical misrepresentation and mendacity ineffective. The case for the Unionist Party is overwhelmingly strong. The great national issue need only be plainly and adequately put before the electors, and the General Election is won.

J. ELLIS BARKER.

THE COMING BATTLE.

It may be vain now, in the midnight of Free Trade intoxication, to tell them that there will be an awakening of bitterness. It may be idle now, in the springtime of their economic frenzy, to warn them; but, when their spirits are softened by misfortune, they will recur to those principles of fair play, which made England great, and which alone can keep her great.—*Disraeli.*

THE flood of political excitement is lapping the high-water mark and stirring the depths beneath. Was the country more convulsed during the feverish periods of the Reform Bill and the anti-Corn-Law agitation? Since the beginning of 1906 public feeling has been growing in intensity, until it has reached its penultimate in the Budget dispute, which, so far from wearying the opposing parties by its exorbitant duration, has but the rather inflamed the vehemence of emotions, which range from the most sordid passions to the justest indignation. Every class, nay, almost every individual, bears a part in the general commotion. On the one side we see men who are struggling to save their property or to preserve the national fabric; on the other, those who are straining every nerve to forward the sacred mission of private robbery and political vandalism. An unparalleled combination of circumstances adds to the prevailing unrest and discontent—one might, indeed, say that the whole order of things is deranged. For Consols, the barometer of national prosperity, if we except 1907, have sunk lower than for many years; there is an abnormal decline in gilt-edged stocks and bottom-mortgages; the markets are upset; investment is emigrating; trade is stagnant; industries are disorganised, and in the general paralysis of capitalist enterprise the nerves of commercial energy are benumbed; unemployment beyond all record looms ahead, and there is an astounding and pitiable increase of pauperism. On all hands the evidences of a black present blend with the presage of a blacker future.

Who or what is responsible for this lengthening shadow? A Government which, having obtained power by false pretences, proceeded to forge its mandate, misappropriated the public monies in order to bribe the electoral jury, and is now engaged on attempted larceny. It will shortly stand convicted of all these crimes. Incertitude and depression have constantly synchronised with a Radical tenure of office; but it has been reserved for this Government to afford by its misrule the conclusive proof of a

law of causation which negatives the supposition of chance coincidence.

Presumably, the Budget is to be used as a means of forcing the coming battle, unless some unforeseen alternative should be the result of interviews and consultations taking place at the time of writing. That medley of errors and undigested schemes has supervened as a fitting climax to a series of measures, misbegotten or unnaturally born, without parallel in the history of our legislation for the last hundred and fifty years. It has wasted the labours of the Commons in an unprecedented manner; though that may have had its utility in prolonging office till the date which qualifies for Ministerial pensions. It has well-nigh exhausted the energies and endurance of the band of Leonidas who have stood heroically in the pass; though that may have been a collateral object. It has created resentment and dismay among those with any stake in the country; though that may have been its calculated design. It has gravely affected the national credit; though that counts for little with those who have no regard for their own. In fine, by assailing the majesty of the law, the security of property, and the liberty of the individual; and by awakening and pandering to the lowest appetites in the human breast, it has generated the concomitants and after-effects of a revolution, animosity between class and class, lassitude, and the possibilities of violent reaction, without being redeemed in the motives and conduct of its votaries by those qualities of moral exaltation, self-sacrifice and high purpose, which have often animated the great spirits of a revolution. The multifarious amendments have not been due to the concession of a liberal receptivity of ideas, but have been hardly wrung from a tardy and unwilling consciousness of fatuity. As the puzzled diver gropes through the confusion he is at a loss to discover any one of those unifying principles which characterised the Budgets of famous Chancellors or even their less distinguished disciples, all he can with certainty report being that he sees lying beneath the murky mass the octopus of Communism, and that its tentacles protrude everywhere feeling for property. The raid on the sinking-fund is enough to stir up the wrathful ghosts of Disraeli, Gladstone, and Harcourt; while to attack capital in both its forms of realty and personalty with the avowed intention of spending nearly thirty millions of the proceeds as income is to combine the rôles of the Socialist and the spendthrift, and to outvie both. Seemingly, the working hypothesis is that wealth is created by confiscation instead of by production. But if orthodox principles are absent, a novel one is apparent; to despoil at all costs any opponent who has proved or may prove himself too

powerful or too upright (it matters not which)—an admirable theory to apply to a cohesive state of society, and whose consistency, of course, is not marred by the exemption of all opponents who are foreign. Somewhat indecent in its nakedness, it has sought to commend itself in cloaks of various hues to a public who may be prude. Thus, if the capitalist is to be robbed, it is only to benefit the Treasury; if the landlord, the locality; if the railway shareholder, the roads; if the brewer, the morals of the community at large. However, there are some strange inequalities. The rich man's champagnes, liqueurs, and Havanas escape a larger impost they could well sustain; but the poor man's shag and ale and whisky pay hundreds per cent. The British public-houses and hotels are to be mulcted beyond their capacity, but (perhaps in deference to the tender sensibilities of the eighty members) those venerable Irish institutions, the still and potheen, are to be spared. Two chances had to be weighed against each other, that of offending the workman and that of beating "the trade." The prejudice-weight was thrown into the one scale, and the other kicked the beam. The fermented antipathy of the Government to the brewers is not because they brew beer, but bottle votes. 'Tis cruel that a holy zeal for temperance should be suspect!

But we are compelled to admit that the land clauses are popular with those who, unfortunately, have the preponderance of votes. This is beyond denial and argument; and the conscientious observer must set truth above the biassed representations of partisanship. Indeed, there are many, too, of otherwise Unionist sympathies, but of non-contentious disposition, who urge that, as there have long been numerous men in both parties who have advocated the supertaxation of large urban site-values, and have deprecated the withholding of land from developing communities, and as a conspicuous fault in the framing of the various schemes under the Bill is the want of equitable graduation, the Lords, in rejecting or suspending it, should record an expression of opinion (after the manner of an *auctoritas* of the Roman Senate) to the effect that they concede the principle, but advise that its application should begin higher up the scale. In thus defending the poorer proprietors, while consenting to the taxation of many members of their own body, they would materially disprove the charges of those who revile them. Others argue that the taxation should follow the German model, and fall on the land-speculator rather than so heavily on the *bona-fide* holder and the inheritor. Space forbids the discussion of these proposals. What is at any rate obvious is that the House of Lords would be totally within their rights in rejecting the Bill, if for no other reason

than that they are the guardians of that constitutional usage which it contravenes by tacking and introducing under cover non-financial measures. In the words of Mr. Gladstone: "The illegitimate incorporation of elements not financial into a financial measure accurately describes the position to-day."

And as to the surplus, a dwindling figure. The laying down of the four extra *Dreadnoughts* was postponed till the end of April; but now, with the imminence of an election in January, there is a rumour that they are to be antedated to that month. Let us not forget that the Government only consented to grant these ships after surrendering to the reiterated demand of the patriotic (still, happily, the greater) portion of the nation. It is a graceless boon that is conferred under compulsion. What, we may ask, would Drake, Hawkins, Frobisher, Nelson, and all that golden bead-roll of British sailors, have said, if they had been told that at some future day would arise men so degenerate as criminally to neglect the honour and safety of that country, for which they unsparingly bled and gallantly died; men so mean of spirit as to be niggard in their provision for that navy, whose traditions they handed on enriched and glorified? We may reasonably expect adroit promises on the eve of the election to employ the balance on more projects of a fantastic and Socialistic nature, in pursuance of the policy of offering bribes to this contemptible group or that fanatical section. "Doles!" "Bread and games!"—these are the catchwords of those who disregard the warning examples of imperial and papal Rome, and who care not whether they corrupt and pauperise the lower degrees. Small wonder that some of the graver and more respected members of the Cabinet should have held aloof from, and that others, constrained by violent colleagues, should have lent but a half-hearted support to a conglomerate measure, which treats slightly the national safety, abuses the legislative process, violates the antecedent and prescriptive rights of property, harasses the industrious and frugal citizen, despoils the widow and children, taxes the mute and unresisting future, and is conceived and upheld by those who are impelled by a morbid activity of revenge, and who, as Burke exclaimed, "snuff with delight the cadaverous scent of lucre!" This is the sublimation of Communist sapience; these the persons whom economic pagans would apotheosise as the demi-gods of a sacrosanct Free Trade!

The exploiting of the Budget for election purposes is a cunning expedient to side-track Tariff Reform. Well knowing that it would be defeated on the clear issue of Tariff Reform *versus* Free Trade, the Government is doing all in its power to bring about an election on the questions of the Finance Bill and the House

of Lords, and to that end is trying to promote the popularity of the former and the unpopularity of the latter by every specious method at the command of its unscrupulous resourcefulness. By the contemptible cry of "Tax the Rich" they are deliberately playing on the discontent which their obsolete system has produced, and which their Finance Bill has exacerbated. In the mouths of its philosophers the theory of Radicalism would seem to be utilitarianism, the greatest good of the greatest number; but when particularised in practice it is found to signify the greatest deception of the greatest number of voters, and the *summum bonum* then takes on a different complexion. Assuming the crassest ignorance in the working man, the Radical-Communists endeavour to cajole him into believing that the interests of each section of society are divergent and antagonistic, in order to secure the immanence of that class hatred without which their schemes would fail of adoption. The Unionists will depend for their success on having sufficient time in which to dispel illusions, and enlighten the proletariat by exposing the inwardness of this pernicious gospel, and by pillorying the motives which prompt it. Their battle-cry is "Down with the Budget and up with Tariff Reform!" Probably the astute Radical candidate will reply: "Tariff Reform may be a rejoinder, but is not a rebutter. I do not discuss Free Trade. Why do you draw the red-herring of fiscal reform?" Which recalls what was termed in the logic text-books a Material Fallacy; and an equal amount of astuteness is not required to explode it. The question to which Free Traders have hitherto vouchsafed no answer, so that we are at length justified in concluding that they have failed to discover one, is: "What remedies do you and can you prescribe for unemployment?" But they have lighted upon some compensation for their failure. For, in blindly adhering to the teaching of *laissez-faire*, they have had the gratification of inventing a new proverb—leave ill alone; which, however, is a little alarming to the inappreciative. They have other curious idiosyncrasies. The spectacle of one woman and a boy engaged in unpacking a case of foreign goods on which twenty British workmen might have been employed, but who instead are looking idly on, affords them a comforting and agreeable illustration of the blessings of a far-sighted parsimony. They proceed, too, on the assumption that only Free Trade nations are wise, and all others are fools; from which it plainly ensues that the keen enterprise of America, the shrewd economy of France, the deeply-reasoned methods which account for the steady advance of Germany, are unworthy of imitation as compared with the Free Trading vagaries, which have rendered Turkey the standard of civilisation, and China the

model of progress. An unsystematised, spasmodic, unequal barter is to them the climacteric of commercial experience and fiscal wisdom. Your genuine Free Trader is incapable of thinking in large categories. When *in propria persona* of a Radical he is by heredity and instinct a Little-Englishman and a pro-enemy. When disguised as a Unionist he is potentially, though not actually so, an injection of diluted imperialism counteracting the bacillus. (There are some persons who are Radicals by nature and Conservatives by accident.) These perversities are an inheritance devised in tail-general by the original testator, Richard Cobden, whose sympathies always went out to Little-Englandism in its acutest phases. He favoured the abandonment of Gibraltar, of India, of the Colonies, and the disruption of the Empire; the abolition of a trained home Army; the reduction of the Navy below the danger-line; was a vehement detractor of Nelson and Wellington; and, in fact, exhibited himself on all occasions in the light of a virulent reactionary. These interesting items in his political creed sometimes escape our memories; and we are apt to forget that Free Trade is only a partial definition of the faith of the master. His disciples, no doubt from feelings of delicacy, refrain from reminding us. The mirage of the Free Trader takes the form of "cheap and foreign," and so obsesses his vision that he has no eye for truth in doctrine or reality in fact;—he fails to realise the economic imperative of increasing the means of production, and the palpable necessity of decreasing unemployment. Can we marvel that no healthy plant can grow in the shade of his Upas tree?

In sequence to this subject follows that vexed question of the Free Food and Free Trade Unionists. Now that the ticket given to the whole party by Mr. Balfour at Birmingham is "Tariff Reform or Socialism," the difficulty is enhanced of accurately discerning the precise position they suppose themselves to occupy. Adumbrated it seems to be this, that they dislike the obverse of that ticket, but dislike its reverse more. Therefore, the advantages of a Parliamentary alliance would, at best, be dubious, however cordially we may allow the abilities of the most prominent and the respectable merits of the rest. For if we are successful, we cannot hope for more than a narrow majority—the victory of either side will probably be by only about thirty—and thus the risk of a subtraction of any votes on a division might prove fatal. Hence, as fiscal reform must be our primary measure, the proposed condition that certain Free Trade Members should place their resignations in the hands of the Whips, if they cannot support it, makes the contract not only voidable, but, in view of all the circumstances, nonsensical. The alternatives are evident; this

little section of the Unionist Party should show a sweet reasonableness, a susceptibility to conversion, or else abstain from any species of overt hostility, having regard to a common peril. Hitherto Tariff Reformers have made the overtures, albeit the official party. Henceforward any overtures should proceed from the Free Fooders. It is manifest that whatever seat they could win a Tariff Reformer could win more easily. None but the entirely prejudiced can deny that it is wiser in any case to have a loyally compact party and to incur a temporary inconvenience for the sake of finally achieving a welded unity. Moreover, we must not repeat the hesitating and futile attempt to conciliate every shade of opinion and face in every direction, which did but confound the confusion in 1906, and was a potent factor in the *débâcle*. It is not the Tariff Reformers who are the schismatics, because they are the overwhelming majority, and hold the cardinal faith; it is the Free Food and Free Trade Unionists, because they are a small minority, and disbelieve. The patency of this truth is not sufficiently recognised in the inconsequent talk about "splitting the party." The pioneers of Tariff Reform have borne the burden and heat of long striving. They have patiently endured ill-advised and short-sighted obloquy. Theirs has been, in very deed, "a progression by antagonism." But they have secured the official acceptance of their policy; and the fruits of a battle so hardly won are not to be lightly or carelessly scattered down the wind.

The high and dry Tantivies hotly resented the incursion of Mr. Chamberlain into their preserves. In their purblindness they viewed him as the great apostate. The gravamen of their charge was that he was a divider of the family. But without that policy, at once destructive of their opponents' and constructive in itself, which he provided, they would be powerless to attack or defend. If they follow their leader's inspiration, but denounce him from whom it is derived (as some yet do), they are on the prongs of an inconsistency.

Consonantly with an indiscriminate vengeance vowed on all our institutions, the extremest members of a heterogeneous Cabinet are fiercely threatening the House of Lords. Incensed at the Peers for having vetoed their unauthorised Bills, under pretence of vindicating the rights of the people they are attacking those who alone have been able to protect those rights. Well aware that the Upper Chamber stands between them and the execution of their Socialist propaganda, they trust that it will throw out the Budget, that they may be given another plank in a revolutionary platform, and an excuse for more exhibitions of that demagogy and pothouse vituperation which sets clod-

poles agape and entrances the baser sort. One shrinks from reflecting what misfortunes might have fallen on an unoffending country during the last three years, had it not been rescued by the House of Lords. There are many of calm and judicious temper, who would fain be governed by that House alone for the next ten years, when they contrast its dignified, orderly, and businesslike debates, in which there is scarcely a superfluous word, with the unseemly and abortive wrangles which so often waste the time of a House of Commons at the mercy of a majority composed of Radicals and Socialists, backed by the Irish. What constitutional antinomies these modern Levellers would perpetrate, or what exactly they would do with the House of Lords they do not condescend to inform us; so we are left to imagine that they would either abolish it, or whittle down its powers and privileges till it was nugatory. It is not necessary to wreck the Constitution in order to improve it; nor must the genius for revolution be confounded with the genius for reform. Who can doubt but that in the socialistic order of events the attack on the House of Lords would be merely the prelude to that on the Monarchy? Already the Radical-Socialists regard it as little more than an impersonal automaton, and would actually reduce it to such; whereas the reflective Constitutionalist and the earnest statesman rightly estimate it as the pole-star of the system, and the permanent bulwark of a central stability, which shall stand against the menace of unfettered democracy. Said Glynne of the kingship: "The one office being lawful in its nature, known to the nation, certain in itself, . . . this was the ground why the Parliament did so much insist on this office and title." Strange that Cromwell, too, the leader of republicanism and the idol of Nonconformists should have admitted (to Bishop Wilkins) 'that no Government was suited to the English but the Monarchy, and no Church but the Church of England.' In our case a patriot must be an antiquary as well. Hazlitt's epigram was incorrect. For our Constitution is built up on traditions which are the depositories of the collective wisdom of past generations, and are among our most precious possessions. The symmetry of that Constitution expresses:—

Th' according music of a well-mix'd State.

This is the frame on which our ancestors embroidered their designs, and we are well content with it.

W. G. HOWARD GRITTEN.

HENRY FIELDING: SOME UNPUBLISHED LETTERS AND RECORDS.

HENRY FIELDING, were he only the "father of the English novel," would be a figure of the highest interest. The Columbus of English literature, the discoverer of a new continent for the domain of the prose writer, can have been no ordinary man. The author of *Joseph Andrews*, of *Tom Jones*, and of *Amelia*, however, did not only invent the English novel, and open to our novelists the vast world of human nature. His astonishingly original genius anticipated, within the narrow compass of three volumes, most of the subsequent achievements of modern fiction. Is the novelist of to-day a master of psychological analysis?—to Fielding was accredited the gift of discerning "the latent sources of human actions." Do we recognise in the novel an unrivalled moral force?—Fielding tells us that goodness and innocence may best be presented to men in a figure, "since Example is a Kind of Picture in which Virtue becomes as it were an Object of Sight." Conversely, by displaying vice and folly unveiled, he would "hold the Glass to thousands in their Closets, that they may contemplate their Deformity, and endeavour to reduce it." Is romance our cheerful recreation?—Fielding is admittedly the greatest of English humorists, justifying our preference and his own in the declaration that mirth and laughter "are probably more wholesome physic for the mind, and conduce better to purge away spleen, melancholy and ill affections than is generally imagined." Do we require of our fiction that it rouse the social conscience?—Fielding preached prison reform, gambling reform, reforms in the law of debt, in the execution of the office of magistrate, in the methods of dealing with starving "out of works," till nothing but the splendour of his genius could have saved him from the dullness of the professional philanthropist. Is the novel of incident our delight?—"What a master of composition Fielding was!" declared Coleridge. "Upon my word I think the *Ædipus Tyrannus*, the *Alchemist*, and *Tom Jones* the three most perfect plots ever planned." Are we preoccupied with virtues bred in mean streets?—again Fielding has been before us. Joseph Andrews was a poor footman, his lovely Fanny a cottage girl, and Serjeant Atkinson, for all his heart of gold, "a fellow whom no one should be seen to speak to." And, if from the novel, we chiefly ask for the companionship of natural men and women, is not *Amelia*, in the judgment both of Dr. Johnson

and of Thackeray, the most charming heroine in English fiction? "Fiction! Why fiction?" exclaims Thackeray, "Why not history? I know Amelia just as well as Lady Mary Wortley Montagu"; and he tells us how he loves and admires her with all his heart, and talks of her as faithfully as if he had breakfasted with her that morning in her drawing-room, or were to meet her that afternoon in the Park.

Fielding, then, is not only, to repeat Sir Walter Scott's memorable phrase, the "father of the English novel." He did indeed create the novel. But he also anticipated precisely those themes that engross the novelists of our own day, thus justifying the tributes of Byron and Gibbon when they acclaimed in Henry Fielding a genius lifted above the confines of time, a "prose Homer," and, perhaps, in the compassionate humanity of his spirit closer to ourselves than to the eighteenth-century readers who saw him face to face. Some prevision of such kinship with the future appears in his own famous invocation to Fame. "Do thou," he cries, "teach me not only to foresee, but to enjoy, nay, to feed on future Praise. Comfort me by a solemn Assurance, that when the little Parlour in which I sit at this Instant, shall be reduced to a worse furnished Box, I shall be read, with Honour, by those who never knew nor saw me, and whom I shall neither know nor see." Assuredly "our immortal Fielding" is now "read with Honour"; and gradually we are learning to know the life of the man over whose personality has hung a veil only less obscure than that behind which Shakespeare stands hidden.

In one sense time has been kinder to Shakespeare than to Fielding. Popular legend has accumulated no body of disreputable myth round the greatest of our dramatists, whereas the vague cloud that for so long has hung over the name of the first, if not the greatest, of our novelists is only now dispersing. The credit of that dispersal belongs, chiefly, to Mr. Austin Dobson, who, in his *Fielding*, has performed, as has been excellently said, "the greatest service ever rendered by one man of letters to another"; a service, moreover, that no subsequent discoveries or enlargements can efface. For the traditional Harry Fielding—the Harry Fielding flashing forth his incomparable wit and tossing off bumpers of claret in all the coffee-houses of the town; the hungry "hackney writer," scribbling in a garret, with the bailiff's man mounting guard on the doorstep; the sadder picture of the brilliant humorist, the popular novelist, ending his harassed life in squalid drudgery as an impoverished Bow Street magistrate—all these phantasms may now be relegated to the limbo of scurrilous legend. The true figure of Henry Fielding steps

out as a man of very different mould; a man of heroic energies, incessantly combating political and social corruption; an idealist inflamed with a fiery "enthusiasm for righteousness," to recall the excellent phrase of Mr. Gosse; a man constantly moved by an intense desire to better the moral and material condition of England under George the Second, a desire that no personal distress or mortal sickness could abate; an accomplished scholar whose library, when sold, exceeded in value that of Dr. Johnson; a passionately attached husband; a friend generous to the edge, and beyond the edge, of his own slender means.

All Fielding's brief life was a restless energy of movement. Now, his tall figure is "laying about him," with almost boyish zest, as a fighting political dramatist; next, he is in the arena as a patriotic journalist; later, he attains his full stature as supreme creative genius; and we find him expending his last energies as poor-law reformer, prison reformer, temperance reformer, and strenuous and learned advocate for the claims of the poorest and most miserable. To begin at the beginning, the newly-discovered records of his boyhood reveal stormy scenes not inappropriate for the childhood of so militant a genius. Now, for the first time we find that Fielding came of good fighting stock, not only through his father, the Hon. Edmund Fielding, the younger son of a long line of gallant soldiers and himself an officer of "much Bravery and Reputation," but also through his mother, a Gould of Somerset and Dorset. Mrs. Fielding, the only daughter of Sir Henry Gould, of Sharpham Park, Somerset, dying in 1718, left six young children—the eldest, Henry, being then a boy of eleven—to the care of her soldier husband. Of that gentleman we now learn that, having made the acquaintance, some two years before his wife's death, of a masquerading Army 'Captain,' at "Princes Coffee-house in the Parish of St. James," he had lost no less than £500 to the said 'Captain' at a "game called Faro." Aware, perhaps, of the habits of his brave if reckless son-in-law, old Sir Henry Gould had bequeathed to his daughter, as certain Chancery records tell us, an estate at East Stour in Dorsetshire with which the Colonel was "to have nothing to do, nor intermeddle therewith." Sir Henry's foresight thus availed to provide a pleasant Dorsetshire home for his daughter, his son-in-law, and his grandchildren; but even his care could not guard against the installation, on his daughter's death, of a second Mrs. Edmund Fielding; still less could he have imagined the step-mother with which his grandchildren were shortly to be provided. For it now appears that Henry Fielding, within three years of his mother's death, was given a step-mother accredited with being a "Widow, an Italian, a

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Person of the Roman Catholick Profession, who has several children of her own, and one who kept an eating House in London." So says old Lady Gould, in the Chancery suit instituted by her against her son-in-law, and on behalf of her grandchildren, Henry, Edmund, Katharine, Ursula, Sarah, and Beatrice Fielding, on February 23rd, 1721, Henry Fielding being then a boy of thirteen, and "at Eaton schoole." It is not difficult to imagine the feelings of Lady Gould of Sharpham Park, widow of Sir Henry Gould, Knight, and Judge of the King's Bench, when an Italian widow, who kept an eating-house, was introduced as the step-mother of her grandchildren, and the mistress of her daughter's pleasant acres on the banks of the stream later to be celebrated in *Tom Jones* as "sweetly winding Stour." But, "Not only so," says her Ladyship, "the said Edmund Fielding . . . threatens to take [his children] from school into his own custody, altho' [their] said Grandmother has taken a House in the City of New Sarum with an intent to have [her granddaughters] under her Inspection and where . . . Katharine, Ursula, and Sarah are now at school." And "the said Mr. Fielding doth give out in speeches that he will do with [his children] what he thinks fitt, and has openly commended the Manner of Education of young persons in Monasteries." And, further, the six "Infants of tender years," Lady Gould declared, stood in great danger of losing their means of maintenance and education through Colonel Fielding's handling of the rents of his late wife's estate.

Thirteen days after the delivery of this comprehensive attack Colonel Fielding filed his defence. He submits, with all "dutiful regard to the said Lady Gould his Mother-in-law," that, his eldest son Henry being not yet fourteen years of age, he has faithfully administered his wife's estate for the benefit of her children, adding that he shall continue to take "a Tender and affectionate care of all his said children." He professes himself to be in the "Communion of the Church of England," and asserts that he will breed his children in that Communion. He protests that his second wife is *not* an Italian, *nor* did she keep an eating-house. He suggests that Lady Gould took her house at Salisbury "as well with an Intent to convenience herselfe by liveing in a Towne" as for the inspection of his children. He "denyeth that he ever Commended the Manner of Education of young persons in monasterys if it be meant in Respect of Religion." Finally, he says that he has spent much money on improving the estate; that the income from the estate is hardly sufficient to maintain his children according to their station in the world, since he is "nearly related to many Noble Familys";

and he "veryly believes in his conscience he can better provide for his said Children by reason of his relation to and Interest in the said noble Familys than their said Grandmother (who is now in an advanced age, being seventy yeares old or thereabouts)."

Here, then, was a brisk family encounter. A man does not like his mother-in-law to say that he has married the keeper of an eating-house, especially if the fact is correct; or that he is perverting his children's trust money. Neither was Lady Gould likely to be soothed by her son-in-law's remark that she was now "in an advanced age"; or by his suggestion that his own "noble" family would be of far more advantage to his children than that of the Goulds.

Five months after this opening of hostilities comes a petition from Lady Gould that the children be not removed from the places where they then were until the case be heard; and she adds that if the children's persons or estates be "under ye management or power of ye said Mr. Fielding and his now wife ye Estate would not be managed to ye best advantage and their Education would not be taken care of and there would be a great hazard that ye children might be perverted to ye Romish Religion." Then follows an order in Chancery under the same date "that ye eldest son of ye Defendt. Fielding . . . be continued at Eaton School where he now is and that ye rest of ye children be continued where they now are." In November comes a Chancery order that "ye plaintiff Henry Fielding who is not [sic] at Eaton Schoole be at liberty to go to ye said Dame Sarah Gould, his Grandmother and next friend during ye usual time of recess from School at Xmas." In the Spring following these Christmas holidays, spent by Henry Fielding with Lady Gould, and doubtless at her house in Salisbury, comes another order from the Court that Henry be at liberty to leave Eton for the Whitsun holidays, 1722, and to go to Lady Gould's house. And a month later the long suit is concluded.

The case came before the Lord Chancellor on May 28th, 1722, and was "debated in the presence of learned Counsels." Edmund Fielding was required to deliver possession of the estate, rendering account of the rents and profits thereof, since the death of his first wife; but he was to have "any and what" allowance for improvements and for the children's maintenance and education. And it was further ordered that the children then at school continue at such schools till further order, and that "upon any breaking up at ye usuall times they do go and reside with ye Lady Gould their Grandmother that they may not be under the influence of ye Defendant Fielding's Wife, who appeared

to be a papist." So Lady Gould, for all her seventy years, won her case at all points, and the remainder of Henry Fielding's boyhood was doubtless spent under her Ladyship's vigorous supervision.

From these Chancery records, buried beneath the unhandled dust of a hundred and fifty years, it becomes possible for the first time to gain some idea of the surroundings of the great novelist's boyhood. At the triumphant conclusion of his grandmother's suit Henry Fielding would be just fifteen years old, and it is impossible not to wonder what side he took in these spirited conflicts. Here, alas, the crabbed parchments are silent, but, at least, we become acquainted with the disastrous second marriage by which Colonel Fielding placed a "Madame Rasa" in charge of the household at East Stour; with the long months of family contest; with Henry's strictly ordered holidays with his grandmother, spent doubtless at Salisbury; and with the schooling of his sisters in the cathedral town, later to be the scene of his own idyllic love match with the beautiful Charlotte Cradock. The Dorsetshire pastures, fields, and orchards (still known in the district as "Fielding's Farm") take on an added interest when we realise that not only did Fielding spend at East Stour some brief period of married happiness, but that here also was fought out a strenuous conflict between the rival guardians of his boyhood.

Of the remainder of Fielding's school life at Eton practically nothing is known, and, indeed, he now vanishes from sight, with the single delightful exception of his escapade at Lyme Regis, until, as a lad of one-and-twenty, we find him producing his first comedy at Drury Lane. From that moment his pen was never idle. During the six years intervening between that memorable first night in 1728 and his marriage with the beautiful Salisbury girl in 1734, no fewer than thirteen plays stand to his name; and his life at this time was doubtless that natural to a brilliant and well-born young wit about town, endowed with the keenest delight in social enjoyment—for Fielding would undoubtedly have endorsed Plutarch's saying that to eat one's dinner alone is "not dining but feeding"—but with little or no worldly property for his support. The rents of the modest Stour estate at this time were presumably devoted to the maintenance of his younger brother and sisters. Two years later, however, and a few months after Fielding's marriage to Charlotte Cradock in the little Somersetshire church of Charcombe, we find some inheritance accruing to the young couple. This befell by the death of Charlotte Cradock's mother, Mrs. Cradock of Salisbury, who bequeathed all her "ready money, plate, jewels, and estate"

to her "dearly beloved daughter Charlott Ffeilding, wife of Henry Ffeilding of East Stour in the County of Dorset Esqre." When we find further that Mrs. Cradock cut off another and it would seem not dearly beloved daughter with a shilling, it is impossible not to recall the wicked sister in *Amelia*, who "had some way or other disoblged her mother a little before the old lady died," and who consequently was deprived of that inheritance which relieved *Amelia* and her husband from the direst straits.

The newly-discovered facts of this inheritance confirm with curious exactitude the lines of a contemporary satirist. The will was proved on February 25, 1735, and in the same year the writer of a *Satire in the Manner of Horace* tells us how Harry Fielding has suddenly appeared, habited not as the poor "play-house bard," but in a manner better fitting his birthright:—

F—g, who Yesterday appear'd so rough,
Clad in coarse Frize, and plaister'd down with *Snuff*,
See how his *Instant* gawdy *Trappings* shine;
What *Play-house* Bard was ever seen so fine!
But this, not from his *Humour* glows, you'll say,
But mere *Necessity*;—for last Night lay
In pawn the Velvet which he wears to Day.

Various indications point to the occupation of the home of Fielding's boyhood at East Stour as an immediate result of this sudden turn of fortune's wheel; the home that, when shared with the lovely original of *Sophia*, the wife to whom he was so passionately attached, surely inspired those later references to the country life of "love, health, and tranquility," a life resembling a calm sea, which "must appear dull in description; for who can describe the pleasure which the morning air gives to one in perfect health; the flow of spirits which springs up from exercise; the delights which parents feel from the prattle and innocent follies of their children; the joy with which the tender smile of a wife inspires a husband; or, lastly, the cheerful solid comfort which a fond couple enjoy in each other's conversations.—All these pleasures and every other of which our situation was capable we tasted in the highest degree."¹

Such rural felicity, even interrupted as it must have been by Fielding's sojourns in London, as manager of the popular Little Theatre in the Haymarket, was not destined to be of any long duration. Fielding's short life, into which he managed to compress "more variety of Scenes than many People who live to be very old," was to have but little Arcadian retirement. Accordingly, only four years after his marriage, and just twelve months after his dramatic onslaughts on the corrupt Prime

(1) *Amelia*.

Minister, Sir Robert Walpole, had brought about the institution by that irate autocrat of our present stage censor, we find him selling parts, if not all, of his estate in the Vale of Stour. This sale occurs in the summer of 1738, when Fielding was a bar student of six months' standing at the Middle Temple. "Henry Fielding and Charlotte his wife," we learn from unpublished documents, "conveyed to one Thomas Hayter two messuages, two dove houses, three gardens, three orchards, eight acres of meadow, forty acres of pasture and ten acres of wood and common, in East Stour"; and it does not need any very active imagination to realise with what keen regret the man whose writing, as Coleridge said, breathes the atmosphere of "an open lawn on a breezy day in May," must have parted with his Dorsetshire gardens and fields, woodland and common.

There is a rumour, the grounds for which have so far escaped all efforts at verification, that, on leaving Stour, Fielding went to Salisbury and there purchased a house. Whatever be the fact as to this return to the cathedral city so familiar to his boyhood, and where his grandmother, old Lady Gould, had died only five years previously, it is certain, from a hitherto unpublished letter, that the late theatrical manager and present Temple student was by no means at the end of his financial resources, even a full year after the sale of the Dorsetshire property. For here we find him requiring from Mr. Nourse, the bookseller, a London house at a rent of £40 and with a large "eating parlour."

MR. NOURSE,

Disappointments have hitherto prevented my paying yr Bill, which, I shall certainly do on my coming to Town which will be next Month. I desire the favour of y^e to look for a House for me near the Temple. I must have one large eating Parlour in it for the rest shall not be very nice. Rent not upwards of £40 p. an: and as much cheaper as may be. I will take a Lease for seven years. Y^r Answer to this within a fortnight will much oblige

Y^r Humble Serv^t,

HENRY FIELDING.

I have got Cro: Eliz.
July 9th 1739.

So much for the traditional picture of Henry Fielding, writing his immortal pages between the bare walls of a miserable garret.

But few fresh facts have come to light as to the next two and a half years of strenuous devotion to the law and of vehement political and satiric journalism. During these years the genius of Fielding was, doubtless, slowly feeling its way for his great adventure; and it was not till February, 1742, that he emerged as the discoverer of the English novel, the conscious creator of

a "kind of writing I do not remember to have seen hitherto attempted in our language," the author of *Joseph Andrews*. It seems evident that this superb achievement, these pages which, as a modern critic has said, "blaze with light like a comedy of Shakespeare," were published in the midst of harassed circumstances, of severe illness, and of an anxiety which we know affected Fielding more than any suffering of his own—the failing health of his wife. Before the still greater triumph of *Tom Jones* was to break into the eighteenth-century world, even Fielding's indomitable courage and splendid vitality were to be for a time utterly shattered on the death of that beloved wife. Mrs. Fielding died at Bath, but was buried on November 14, 1744, in the chancel vault of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, London. We have always known how the first vehemence of Fielding's grief was so acute that fears were entertained for his reason, but hitherto we have only had conjecture to guide us in placing this overwhelming blow in the years immediately succeeding the publication of *Joseph Andrews*. The registers of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields have now yielded the missing evidence, and the sexton's "rough book" has even preserved the details of the solemn funeral by which Fielding commemorated his wife, rendering to her the same stately honours as were accorded to the members of the few great families interred in the old church.

The birth of the English novel must, strictly speaking, be dated from the publication of *Joseph Andrews* in that distressed February of 1742, amid sickness, anxiety, and scanty means. It was not till seven years later, years marked by vigorous political journalism, by the publication of that masterpiece of irony, that poignant indictment of devilry, *Jonathan Wild*, by the enforced retirement through broken health from the life of an active barrister, and most of all by the death of his wife, that Fielding delighted his own and all subsequent ages with the six small volumes of *Tom Jones*. It is surely scarcely necessary now to insist that the outspokenness of *Tom Jones* is the outspokenness of the age, and not of Fielding himself. A very cursory examination of the astounding daily newspapers of the period is alone sufficient to prove this point. But if any further evidence be needed of the sincerity of Fielding's own contention, in his preface, that his pages are designed to recommend goodness and innocence, and that in the whole course of the work nothing will be found "inconsistent with the strictest rules of decency, nor which can offend even the chastest eye in the perusal," it may be found in the fact of the dedication of the book to that pious and exemplary statesman and Fielding's warmest friend, the "good" Lord Lyttelton; and no less convincing as to the

great novelist's position among his contemporaries is the incident of the reading of *Tom Jones* in manuscript to Lord Chatham and to Lyttelton, in the beautiful Warwickshire home of that most estimable of men and one with whom Fielding was on terms of intimate friendship, Sanderson Miller. The oral record of this incident is happily still preserved. The Rev. George Miller, now Vicar of Radway, Warwickshire, and great-grandson of Sanderson Miller, recently informed the present writer that "Lord Chatham and Lord Lyttelton came to Radway to visit my ancestor, when Lord Chatham planted three trees to commemorate the visit, and a stone urn was placed between them. Fielding was also of the party, and read *Tom Jones* in manuscript after dinner for the opinion of his hearers before publishing it. My father told me this often, and he had the account from his grandmother, who survived her husband several years and who was the hostess on the occasion." Unhappily, no record exists of the comments of perhaps the greatest of English statesmen as he listened to this reading in manuscript of indubitably one of the greatest of English novels.

Tom Jones had scarcely been published when Fielding plunged, with a zeal amazing for a man in shattered health, into the last conflict of his life, a conflict with the mass of crime and misery pervading the London of 1750. The fact that Fielding, as a Bow Street magistrate, could be engaged on *five* different murders, all committed by street robbers, in one week, suggests a condition of lawlessness incredible to the carefully-protected citizen of to-day. And to realise the epidemic of drunkenness then prevailing we have but to look at Hogarth's terrible plate of *Gin Lane*. All this, together with the depths of misery underlying such surface crime, touched Fielding's compassionate and patriotic energies to the quick. Accordingly, in these last years, we find him devoting the whole force of his genius and his eloquence (together with a wealth of legal learning) to endeavours for remedying the intolerably diseased state of the body politic as regarded both the vices and the sufferings of the poor. Fielding protests against the popular ignorance of these sufferings in words that might be spoken by some advocate for the East-End "Settlements" of to-day. "If we were," he declares, "to make a Progress through the Outskirts of this town, and look into the Habitations of the Poor, we should there behold such Pictures of human Misery as must move the Compassion of every Heart that deserves the Name of human. What indeed must be his Composition who could see whole Families in Want of every Necessary of Life, oppressed with Hunger, Cold, Nakedness, and Filth, and with Diseases, the certain Consequence of all

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these; what, I say, must be his Composition, who could look into such a Scene as this, and be affected only in his Nostrils?" As an instance, hitherto overlooked, of Fielding's personal knowledge of the London slums of his day, a reference made by Mr. Saunders Welch to their joint work is of interest. Writing in 1753, he mentions assisting "Mr. Henry Fielding in taking from under one roof upwards of seventy lodgers of both sexes."

Fielding's earliest biographer tells us that "whatever he desired he desired ardently"; and the evidence is overwhelming of Justice Henry Fielding's ardent desire to cleanse and relieve London from such evils and distresses. He had not been twelve months on the Bench when we find him, in the following unpublished letter, not only presenting to the Lord Chancellor his well-known *Charge to the Grand Jury of Westminster*, but also submitting to Lord Hardwick a draft Bill for the prevention of crime:

Bow Street, July 21. 1749.

Mr LORD,

I beg your Lordship's acceptance of a Charge given by me to the Grand Jury of Westminster though I am but too sensible how unworthy it is of your notice.

I have likewise presumed to send my Draught of a Bill for the better preventing street Robberies &c. which your Lordship was so very kind to say you would peruse; I hope the general Plan at least may be happy in your Approbation.

Your Lordship will have the goodness to pardon my repeating a desire that the name of Joshua Brogden, may be inserted in the next commission of the Peace for Middlesex and Westminster for whose [integrity] and Ability in the Execution of his office I will engage my credit with your Lordship, an Engagement which appears to me of the most sacred Nature.

I am,

My Lord, with the utmost Respect and Devotion,

Your Lordship's most Obed^t

Most humble Servant,

H. FIELDING.

To the Right Honble

The Lord High Chancellor of G. Britain.

All trace of the text of this draft Bill seems to have been lost; but the fact of the Lord Chancellor's consent to consider its provisions shows clearly enough the position held by Fielding, as lawyer and administrator, even in the first months of his magistracy. A strenuous devotion to the daily duties of his office, duties that must have been an incredible drudgery to so great a genius, marks Fielding's five years of work in Bow Street; and ample evidence of the calls made on his time and strength is available in the files of the contemporary London newspapers.

But of even greater value in apprehending Fielding's character are the comprehensive schemes of social reform which came from his pen in these last years of fast-failing health. Prison reform, poor-law reform, reform of the scandal of public executions, solutions for the problems of unemployment, of the housing of the poor, and of vagrancy, are but a few of the matters dealt with in pamphlets weighty with the learning of an accomplished lawyer, and written by the pen that wrote *Tom Jones*. During his last years Fielding seems to have known no other desire, after insuring some competence for those dependent on him, than to lessen the evils and increase the chances of virtue of the poorest of his countrymen; and in that service he finally sacrificed his life, exhausting the frail remnants of his strength in organising forces which suppressed the London criminal. Henry Fielding must ever stand first and foremost as the creator of the English novel, the master of an unrivalled style—in a word, as “our immortal Fielding.” He was no less, to use the words in which he subscribes his first political play, “the most devoted Servant of the public.” A more intimate knowledge of his brief life does but increase affection and admiration for, perhaps, the most original and diverse genius in English literature.

G. M. GODDEN.

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I.

THE SOCIAL QUESTION.

"The whole art of politics is the art of seeing." It is one of the many pregnant sayings attributed, rightly or wrongly, to Talleyrand; and, at all events, it is not unworthy of him. The debates in the British Parliament, and especially in the House of Commons, seldom exhibit many traces of this art. The true significance of the questions discussed does not appear to be discerned adequately by those, on whatever side, who talk about them most copiously. No doubt there are noble lords, and honourable or right honourable gentlemen, who do not desire that the real import of the measures which they support, or oppose, should be too plainly visible. In many instances, however, it would seem as if the disputants might be characterised in the words employed by Carlyle to describe Mr. Gladstone: "incapable of seeing veritably any fact whatever."

Now what is the cause of this incapacity? If my memory is not at fault, Mr. Balfour told the House of Commons, upon one occasion, that party was the very breath of their nostrils. With all deference to so great a Parliamentary authority, I would rather describe party as the dust which gets into the eyes of their understanding and mars their intellectual vision. The House of Commons is an assembly of some seven hundred gentlemen engaged in playing the game of Ins and Outs—gentlemen the vast majority of whom vote as directed by the party whip in absolute indifference to, often in absolute ignorance of, the issues involved in the questions which their votes decide. I venture to think that the spectacle presented by the proceedings in the House of Commons, engaged in discussing Mr. Lloyd George's financial proposals, justifies these remarks. The majority who voted docilely in favour of those proposals were Ins who want to stay in: the minority who voted against them, Outs tired of staying out. The real significance of them, as a sign of the times, received small recognition from honourable members. I suppose no one attaches much importance to Mr. Lloyd George himself, from the point of view of statecraft. It has been well pointed out by Mr. Mallock, in the *Times* of August 7th, that his favourite arguments rest on fallacies of the most astounding character which are put forward as facts. "One of these is that

the rent of land forms the principal portion of the income assessed to income-tax. Another is that the rent or the selling value of the land of this country, as a whole, exhibits a rate of continuous increase not exhibited by incomes derived from any other source. The third is that, of the land rent of this country, the whole is virtually taken by great proprietors—he sometimes seems to think by dukes.” Mr. Mallock correctly observes that every one of these suppositions is a ludicrous inversion of the truth.¹ Of course I do not impugn Mr. Lloyd George’s honesty. He is a clever player in the party game, and his intellectual vision has doubtless been blinded by its dust. My concern with him and his Budget, however, has nothing to do with his ethical merit or demerit. There is an occult force which drives the generations of mortal men before it, as irresistibly as the wind drives the leaves to which Homer has likened them. Call it the Zeitgeist, the spirit of the age, or what you will; the name matters little: the fact is undeniable. It is of such a force that this Budget of Mr. Lloyd George’s is the outward visible manifestation. It really means that what Carlyle called “The Condition of England Question” is at last asserting its claim to be of paramount importance, and can no longer be shelved by the players of the party game.

Let us look a little at this question. The population of the United Kingdom is 44,538,718. The wealth of the United Kingdom has been recently estimated by Mr. Chiozza Money—a very competent authority—at £11,500,000,000. Of that vast sum 95 per cent. is owned by one-ninth of the population: five millions of people are the proprietors of £10,900,000,000. Let us go on from capital to income. We may roughly estimate the income of the country at 1,800 millions a year—the figures are still Mr. Chiozza Money’s. There are about five million persons who take one-half of it, while thirty-nine millions take the other

(1) Mr. Mallock proceeds:—Of the gross income reviewed for purposes of assessment, the gross rental of agricultural and urban land together amounts to-day to but one-tenth of the total.

The agricultural rent of the country is less by £18,000,000 than it was twenty-eight years ago. The net rental of agricultural land, urban land, and the actual structures of houses is less by £5,000,000 than it was fifteen years ago; whilst the income taxed under Schedule D has increased by £105,000,000. The selling or capital value of estates of over 30 acres averaged in the years 1893-6 more than £5 per acre less than it did between the years 1780 and 1800.

Lastly, the owners of land, instead of consisting virtually of a small body of great landlords, were shown so long ago as 1876 to amount to more than 1,000,000 persons, and the rental of those who owned under one acre each was more than a third of the rental of the entire body, and exceeded the rental of those who owned upwards of 1,000 acres. In Scotland the proportion to the whole borne by the rental of the owners of less than an acre was as 58 to 180, and in England as 29 to 65.

half. And of the five millions of persons who take nine hundred millions of income, about one and a quarter million persons, or two hundred and fifty thousand families, take six hundred millions. These two hundred and fifty thousand families are at the top of the social scale. At the bottom are two millions of families earning less than £1 per week. Forty-three per cent. of the population, however hard they may work, however thrifty they may be, are not able to command an income sufficient to provide for a standard of workhouse subsistence. Further, there are always over a million of unemployed and over a million of paupers. It is a significant fact that the rise of pauperism has been continuous since 1901. There are now one hundred and eighteen thousand more paupers than there were then. Moreover, it should be added that while the capital wealth of the country is increasing yearly by £200,000,000, wages are going down, and the cost of living is going up.

And now let us turn from figures to actual life. In a book written more than half-a-century ago, and now fallen into unmerited oblivion—Dr. Channing's *Duty of Free States*—I find the following words, which are as true to-day as they were then :—

To a man who looks with sympathy and brotherly regard on the mass of the people, who is chiefly interested in the "lower classes," England must present much that is repulsive. . . . The condition of the lower classes at the present moment is a mournful comment on English institutions and civilisation. The multitude are depressed in that country to a degree of ignorance, want, and misery, which must touch every heart not made of stone. In the civilised world there are few sadder spectacles than the present contrast in Great Britain of unbounded wealth and luxury with the starvation of thousands and tens of thousands, crowded into cellars and dens, without ventilation or light, compared with which the wigwam of the Indian is a palace. Misery, famine, brutal degradation, in the neighbourhood and presence of stately mansions, which ring with gaiety, and dazzle with pomp and unbounded profusion, shock us as no other wretchedness does.

I should observe that when Dr. Channing wrote these words, the United States of America presented a cheering contrast to the picture which he draws. They no longer present such a contrast. The economical condition of that country has changed—and changed immeasurably for the worse—since the Civil War. Enormous riches are concentrated in the hands of a very few, while the great bulk of the population have become more and more impoverished. It is calculated that one per cent. of the families of the United States own more than one-half of the national wealth, while nearly one-half of the families are virtually propertyless. We know what are the splendours of the New York millionaires and multimillionaires—there are, as it

appears, some two thousand of them. Well, in this same City of New York, men are crowded four thousand, and even more, to the acre, and are living in conditions as filthy, as wretched, as inhuman as can be found in any London slum. An Occasional Correspondent of the *Times*, who in the years 1907-8 contributed a most interesting series of articles to that journal, under the title of *A Year Among Americans*, writes as follows, founding himself on official reports:—"In New York two-thirds of the inhabitants live in tenement houses that have over 350,000 living rooms into which, because they are windowless, no ray of sunlight ever comes. In fairly prosperous years there are at least 10,000,000—some careful statisticians say from 15,000,000 to 20,000,000—people in America who are always underfed and poorly housed, and of these 4,000,000 are public paupers. Little children, to the number of 1,700,000, who should be at school and about 5,000,000 women, are wage-earners in America. . . . A Report of the 'Department of Correction' shows that one person in every ten who dies in New York has a pauper's burial; that at the present ratio of deaths from tuberculosis, 10,000,000 persons, now living, will succumb to that disease, which is largely due to insufficiency of food and light and air: and that 60,463 families, in the borough of Manhattan, New York, were evicted from their homes in the year 1903." Such is "the shame of mixed luxury and misery" which is spread over the United States, as over England, and from which no country of the civilised world is wholly exempt. "Wealth accumulates, and men decay."

But why is this so? That is the next step in our inquiry. There can be no doubt that this state of things is the outcome of the economical doctrines unquestioningly received and believed in the civilised world for well-nigh a century from Adam Smith's time. It was in 1776 that in his *Wealth of Nations* he laid down the doctrine of *laissez-faire* which is the corner-stone, elect, precious of the old Political Economy long revered as "Orthodox." When he wrote, the law imposed many restrictions upon industries. He advocated their total abolition, under the plea that labour and capital should be free to seek their own interests, and with the prophecy that general happiness would result from this economical freedom. He was penetrated, as has been pointed out in Toynbee's *Industrial Revolution*, by "the belief in the supreme value of individual liberty, and the conviction that man's self love is God's providence; that the individual in pushing his own interest is promoting the interests of all." He forgot that parity of condition is a condition of freedom of

contract; and the generation to which he appealed did not happen to remember it. His doctrine was soon everywhere received and believed as a new economic gospel—with the consequences which we all know.

One chief result was to dissolve the old fellowship of industry, and to array capital and labour against one another in two hostile camps. It was a most unequal struggle—a struggle in which, naturally, the weakest went to the wall. Adam Smith was by way of proceeding on what he called “the obvious and simple system of natural liberty,” the essence of which, as he goes on to tell us, is to leave “every man, so long as he does not violate the laws of justice, perfectly free to pursue his own interests his own way, and to bring his industry and his capital into competition with those of any man or order of men.” He proceeded upon the assumption that all men are perfectly free and economically equal, an assumption so utterly false that it is difficult to understand how a man of Adam Smith’s intelligence could have made it. The replete capitalist and the starving labourer economically equal! Freedom of contract between the man who owns land, mines, machinery, and the man who owns only his ten fingers, skilled or unskilled—“lord of himself that heritage of woe”! It was under this system, described as “free competition working by demand and supply,” that colossal fortunes were built up in England in the nineteenth century. This “free competition” was really a most atrocious tyranny of capital. If I may quote words which I have written elsewhere:—

I know of no more shameful page in human history than that whereon is recorded the condition of the English working classes in coal mines, woollen factories, and cotton factories during the first three decades of that century. The victims of over-work, of under-pay, of frauds and extortions of all kinds, notably those practised through the truck system, their condition was worse than that of overburdened and overdriven horses: because those human faculties, those *human* needs which marked them off from the brute beasts, were utterly ignored and unprovided for. Not only grown-up men and women, but little children were offered up in sacrifice to “Gain the master-idol of this realm.” The story, revealed in the Parliamentary Reports of 1842 and 1843, of general deliberate and systematic cruelty practised on girls and boys of tender age, cannot be read without sickening horror.¹

Well, those atrocities have largely disappeared, thanks to a long series of legislative measures, passed in the teeth of most strenuous opposition from the old school of philosophic Radicals and the orthodox Political Economists, their instructors in state-craft. Another great step for the amelioration of the condition of the workers was made by the institution of Trade Unions, which,

(1) *First Principles in Politics*, p. 98.

as Brentano has pointed out, originated with the non-observance of the Statutes fixing wages and regulating apprenticeships. They were originally regarded as wicked combinations for the ruin of capitalists: and for long years the Courts of Law so treated them. Gradually they won their way, first into toleration, and then into recognition: and now they are, we may say, established factors in our industrial system. I am far from asserting that Trade Unions have been an unmixed benefit. What is? The end which they are by way of promoting—the advancement of the interests, real or supposed, of the workmen—by no means justifies all the means which they have employed. But when every just allowance is made for their errors—or their crimes—it remains true, as the late Mr. Devas admirably said, that “the benefits which Trades Unions have conferred, or helped to confer, on the English artisans, are many; higher wages, shorter hours of work, removal of middlemen (out-contractors or sweaters), removal of many oppressive fines or penalties, checks on brutality of foremen, support to members out of work.”¹ It would be easy, but it is not necessary, to continue this catalogue of their good works. But there is one thing which they have wrought, of such transcendent importance that it must be set down here. By vindicating the advantage of collective bargaining over individual bargaining with employers of labour, of combination over competition, they did much to bring about real freedom of contract, or something more or less nearly approaching to it.

But combination among workmen has been followed by combination among capitalists. They, too, have discerned that union among themselves is a much better thing for them than war among themselves, seeing that they may thereby more or less completely monopolise production, barter, and commerce. Hence have arisen Rings and Trusts—combinations both against the public which consumes commodities, and against the workers who produce them. These gigantic monopolies aim at regulating, on their own terms, production and distribution, and in many instances they have largely succeeded in so doing.

Such organisations of capital are of American origin, and it is to the United States of America that we must go if we would rightly judge of them. It is worth while for us to make the expedition, for there can be no doubt that England, and the Old World generally, will follow the example thus set by the New. As I have before noted, up to the time of the American Civil War there were few, if indeed any, millionaires, there was no

(1) *Manual of Political Economy*, p. 422.

serious poverty problem. Now all that is changed. During the few decades which have elapsed since the termination of that conflict there has been a perfectly marvellous development of industry in the United States, resulting, on the one hand, in a vast and rapidly increasing concentration of wealth among capitalists, and, on the other, in vast and rapidly increasing poverty among the wage-earning classes employed by them. By means of Trusts capital has largely secured the control of natural resources in the United States—a control which involves absolute power over the division of the product of industry. There lies a book before me by Mr. Byron C. Mathews,¹ which is worth citing in this connection :—

The monopolistic power of many of these combinations, he writes, is secured, in whole or in part, through their control of the sources of supply of raw material. The organisers of the Steel Trust understood this well when, in securing their charter, they inserted among the many objects for which the Corporation was formed : "To acquire, own, lease, occupy, use or develop, any land containing coal, iron, manganese, stone, or other ores, or oil, and any wood lands, or other land, for the use of the Company." In pursuance of this power they have acquired extensive iron ore deposits covering great sections of three States, and immense acreages of coal and coke deposits covering great sections of five other States. With the exception of two of the smaller sections, all these deposits, located in eight different States, some of them a thousand miles apart, are connected by a network of railroads and steamboats, lines owned and operated by the Trust. . . . Ownership of all these by the Steel Trust carries with it absolute control of the sources of supply of all their material, and hence it makes them masters of all the processes carried on by their hundreds of plants located in fifteen different States, and masters of all their products, including control over the distribution of their values. The Trust controls something over seventy per cent. of all the steel and iron products made in the country. Assuming that the owners of the other thirty per cent. have a like control over their source of supply, the conclusion we reach is that . . . to capital invested in natural resources and in the means of their transportation, control of all iron and steel products made in this country is secured. As in the steel and iron industry, so in all manufacturing industries. In agriculture, another great foundational industry, the same control over products is secured by the same . . . use of capital. . . . The same situation exists in all lumbering operations. . . . So in mining the man who owns the mines has control over everything taken out of them. . . . This control may under certain circumstances be just as effectual if secured through the control of the means of transportation, as in the case of the anthracite coal mines. . . . Through this power the railroad owners have become owners of the anthracite coal fields . . . [the actual] owners of most of them, and the *de facto* owners of them all. In the early history of the petroleum industry the concern now known as the Standard Oil Trust, through its league with railroads, secured control of the oilfields, and in this manner built up that gigantic combination. It matters not how the control of the

(1) I know nothing of the author save what the title-page of his work informs me, viz., that he is "of the Department of Economics, High School, Newark, N.J."

material is secured—whether through ownership, or through the means of transportation, or some other way: the important thing is the control.¹

This control of the wealth material, and thereby of the labour operating on it, of course gives a giant's strength to those who possess it; and they have of late years used it tyrannously like a giant; indeed, their encroachments have been so severely felt by the middle class as to arouse a general feeling that something is rotten in the state of a country where such abuses are possible. The condition of the non-owning wage-earners is becoming little better than it was in the days of that free and unrestricted competition from which Trades Unions to some extent delivered them. Mr. Mathews puts it in his vigorous, not to say passionate, way:—

They are economically in the power of those who own and control the material, as truly as were the coloured slaves legally in the power of their owners before their emancipation. There is absolutely nothing in this world for them to do except to operate upon material, changing its form and place. If the material is withheld from them by the owners of it, they and their families may beg or starve. Their privilege of earning their bread, even by the sweat of their brows, has been denied them. All talk about free labour is prattle, if it is meant that a labourer is free to earn bread without asking the privilege of doing so from some other man. His freedom is limited to the privilege of asking. He is absolutely free to keep on asking for a job for ever, but never free to get it. The plain name for this situation is slavery. It is legalised slavery. These economic conditions are the result of law. They are the logical outcome of our irrational laws of ownership, especially of land-ownership. Non-owning wage-earners have no legal right to live except in the almshouses. If they beg, the laws jail them. If they starve, the taxpayers bury them. In the potter's fields of the world are the victims of our cruel industrial organisation to be counted by the ten thousand.²

But, of course, there is more than that in the economical question now forcing itself on the attention of the world—the question, it may be called, of the distribution of social income. It is a favourite maxim that such distribution should be on the basis of service which, Mr. Mathews observes, seems to imply distribution according to merit. But he finds, he tells us, “everywhere a sort of service without sacrifice, hence without merit, and compensation for such meritless service.” And he continues:—

Unrestricted inheritance privileges and stock-watering processes are two illustrations of many that might be named of the methods employed in securing unearned and undeserved portions of social income. Others are stock-market gambling, use of monopolistic power, municipal franchises, certain insurance practices, and many questionable business methods.

(1) *Our Irrational Distribution of Wealth*, by Byron C. Mathews, pp. 25-32.
(2) P. 96.

When through any of these methods a man secures a portion of social income without sacrifice on his part commensurate with the amount received, he is getting something for nothing, something which belongs to somebody else, hence does not belong to him. There can be no production of values without sacrifice. All wealth produced by the deliberate action of men should be divided among those who make the necessary sacrifice, and as nearly as possible in proportion to the sacrifice made. The nearer we approach to this, the nearer we shall approximate justice. Distribution on the basis of service which involves sacrifice would cut out from any share in the products of industry all social parasites, both the idle rich and tramps, and would set them to work, or give them an opportunity to fast. The world owes no man a living, but it does owe to every man an opportunity to earn a living. Our method of dividing social income gives to a large and growing class of idle rich a living without the least return to society on their part. If this class could be eliminated, a long stride towards the solution of the problem of distribution would be taken.¹

Does Mr. Mathews, then, deny the right of all capitalists to any share of the produce which their capital has assisted labour to produce? No: he distinguishes. "Those whose only part in production is ownership of capital," he holds, "have no right to any part of the products of industry unless their capital is the result of their own exertions, or the exertions of those upon whom, through family relationships, they are dependent, and not the product of some other man's labour." He distinguishes, in fact, between capital rightfully earned and capital wrongfully earned. And his complaint is that this distinction is not recognised. But let us hear him once more.

At present it makes absolutely no difference whether a man inherited his capital or earned it as a motorman on a street car, whether he secured it in legitimate business or in an Amalgamated Copper Gamble—in short, whether he produced it or stole it. The laws of the country say to every man who owns capital, "We will protect you in the possession of your capital, and in the right to the possession of all interest that may be paid for its use. It makes no difference to us whether you earned it or not. That is a matter of slight importance. What we want to know is that you've got it. We are interested in the fellow that has something: even if some other fellow did produce it, that does not change our attitude towards you. You need our protection because you've got something. If the fellow who produced it wasn't able to establish a title to it and keep it, that is none of our business. He simply doesn't need our protection, because he hasn't anything to be protected. Even if he was compelled by hunger, for the sake of bread to eat, to relinquish all claim to the wealth he's produced, that is not a matter with which we are concerned, that is his look-out. You may be well assured that so long as you possess the capital, we, the laws, are your friends. And not only so: you may be assured of this also: that you have other friends standing behind us ready for action on your behalf, whenever necessary. These other friends are the military forces of the nation. With such friends, be at ease; invest your capital, however obtained; we will see to it that you are protected in the transaction."²

(1) P. 44.

(2) P. 88.

No doubt there is much truth in this vigorous diatribe, although it is far from being the whole truth on the question with which it deals. But if we ask Mr. Mathews how the laws are, in practice, to distinguish between capital rightly and capital wrongfully earned, his trumpet gives an uncertain sound.

It is impossible to say what portion of the capital employed in the country belongs to those who have contributed to its production. When we remember that one per cent. of the families of the country possess a greater amount of wealth than the other ninety-nine per cent.; that this same one per cent. of our richest families receive a larger portion of the products of industry than the poorest fifty per cent.; that they receive from property alone as large an income as half of the nation's inhabitants receive from property and labour together; when we recall the prevailing code of "business ethics," the laws of inheritance, the passing of millions of wealth from hand to hand among those who have never contributed the least use of muscle or grey matter to social welfare—when we think of all these things we are compelled to conclude that a very large portion of social capital is owned by those who can set up no moral claim whatsoever to it, and that all interest which is paid on such capital is so much taken out of the total social income, taken away from the producers, and paid over to non-producers.¹

The practical measures to which Mr. Mathews looks for a remedy of the evils which he bewails are apparently a large extension of public ownership, the curtailment of inheritance, and the introduction of co-operation in industrial concerns. On this last-mentioned point he writes as follows:—

Owners and managers have learned in recent years that the workers must be reckoned with. Through organisation these classes have secured recognition, but they have not secured all their rights. For this end we fear they are on the wrong track. They never will secure their rights in full so long as they recognise the wage system as the means of determining their share of social income. For fifty years they have been striking for higher wages, all the time recognising the wage system as the proper and legitimate agency for determining their portion. Whereas the wage system is only their first step towards economic freedom. The next step appears to be a voice in control, some form of co-operation. As has been repeatedly pointed out, the power to dictate the terms of division lies with the man who owns the material and the tools. So long as this power remains completely in the hands of those who are outside of the wage-earning classes, many of whom are antagonistic to these classes rather than in sympathy with them, so long the wage system cannot be relied upon to determine the wage-earner's fair share of the products of industry. So long as control is left where it is, the labour problem will be with us. The solution of this problem will be such a readjustment of the relation of the labourer to the product of his labour as will allow him to earn a living for himself without first being compelled to contribute to the living of capitalists and landlords, which he is now compelled to do. This problem will be solved speedily, easily, completely, and permanently, when all labouring people unite at the ballot box.²

These last words of Mr. Mathews are worth pondering. It is to the ballot box, he tells us, that the toiling millions look for

(1) P. 90.

(2) P. 110.

the redress of the evils which he so vigorously sets forth. Some half-a-century ago Ruskin wrote in his *Arrows of the Chace*: "The labouring poor produce the means of life by their labour. Rich persons possess themselves, by various expedients, of a right to dispense these means of life; and, keeping as much as they want of it for themselves, or rather more, dispense the rest, usually in return for more labour from the poor expended in providing various delights for the rich dispensers. The idea is now gradually entering poor men's minds that they may as well keep in their own hands the right of distributing the means of life they produce, and employ themselves, so far as they need extra occupation, for their own entertainment and benefit rather than that of other people." During the decades which have elapsed since these words were written, the idea which Ruskin spoke of as "gradually entering poor men's minds" has taken deep root there. During the same decades, too, preponderating political power has passed into their hands. That is the issue of the reckless bidding of party against party for place and power. Leading politicians have preached the utterly unethical doctrine of the absolute right of numerical majorities; nay, more, not a few of them have used every rhetorical artifice to split up our national solidarity, and to array "the masses" against "the classes"—to use Mr. Gladstone's phrase. But political power is only a means. One of the clearest sighted of French publicists, M. Ledru Rollin, pointed out more than half-a-century ago that the goal of the democratic movement was economical, its course being "de passer par la question politique pour arriver à l'amélioration sociale." Lazarus takes no interest in the game of Ins and Outs—why should he take any? But he would like a portion of the good things which he sees through the bars of the rich man's gate. Between him and Dives there is what Mill calls "complete opposition of apparent interest"; and he, in his millions, is now master of the situation. Well may Mill inquire: "Even supposing the ruling majority of poor sufficiently enlightened to be aware that it is not for their advantage to weaken the security of property, and that it would be weakened by any act of arbitrary spoliation, is there not a considerable danger lest they should throw upon the possessors of what is called realised property, and upon the larger incomes, an unfair share, or even the whole of the burden of taxation, and, having done so, add to the amount without scruple, expending the proceeds in modes supposed to conduce to the profit and advantage of the labouring classes?"¹

There are two adjectives in this passage of Mill which deserve

(1) *Considerations on Representative Government*, p. 120.

consideration; they are "arbitrary" and "unfair." What is the criterion of *just* dealing in the matter? Let us pursue, for a little, that inquiry. To do so effectively we shall have to go back to first principles too generally overlooked both by the classes and by the masses, by landlords and by labourers, by manufacturers and by their "hands," and usually quite unrecognised by the legislature.

I observe that Mr. Mathews calls his book, from which I have more than once quoted, *Our Irrational Distribution of Wealth*. I welcome the title. The appeal really is to reason, with which what is "arbitrary" and "unfair" is irreconcilable. It is by reason that we distinguish between right and wrong; and the true function of the lawgiver is to formulate, for the guidance of human society, the concepts of right which reason reveals; hence Aquinas has admirably characterised law as "a function of reason."¹ Those concepts of right we call rights. The two terms are, in their ultimate source, one. And it is the office of that branch of philosophy which the scientific jurists of Germany call "Naturrecht," "so to deduce the multiplicity of rights from the self-same fount, that they may be exhibited as governed by the unity of an inherent co-ordinating thought."² The basis of all rights—whether of nations or of the individual persons who make up a nation—is ethical. Hence the ancient and most wise maxim that justice is the foundation of the State—"Justitia fundamentum regni"; and what is justice but, as the Roman jurist defined it, "the constant and perpetual will to give to every one his own"? As the State is founded on justice, so its chief function is to do justice. That, indeed, is not the view generally held on this important matter. Lord Macaulay, in his essay on Gladstone's *Church and State*, tells us that the primary end of government is "the protection of the persons and property of men." Assuredly this proposition is not true. If Macaulay meant "the rights of persons and property," it is a pity that he did not say so. Equally indefensible is the maxim that the end of the State is "to promote the greatest happiness of the greatest number." Happiness, indeed, is a question-begging word. If we take it in the Spencerian sense of "agreeable feeling"—which is, as I suppose, the sense it bears in the foolish dictum just quoted—assuredly it is not the end of the State to provide as much happiness as possible for the numerical majority. Their interests, real or ostensible, are not

(1) So the well-known passage in the Ninth Book of *Paradise Lost*:—
"We live

Law to ourselves: our Reason is our Law."

(2) Trendelenburg: *Naturrecht auf dem Grunde der Ethik*, p. 1.

necessarily the interest of the body politic, as a whole, but are often opposed to it. No; the end of the State is not to manufacture "happiness," but to define, maintain, amplify, and secure its own rights and the rights of its subjects. This has been well put by "the master of those who know": The end of the State, Aristotle tells us, is $\epsilon\upsilon \xi\eta\lambda\upsilon$: noble or worthy life, which, too, is the end of the individual: an existence in accordance with the dignity of human nature: a complete and self-sufficient existence: the development of its own personality, and of the personality of its subjects, under the law of right.

For the State has a true personality, and, like the individuals of whom it is composed, is invested with all the rights flowing from personality; rights springing from the ethical idea and psychological being of man, but realised only in civil society, which—and not the savage Utopia vainly imagined by Rousseau—is man's natural state: *Unus homo, nullus homo*. Now, according to all the great masters of ethics from Plato and Aristotle down to Spinoza and Kant, man, as man, possesses certain rights,¹ which are not derived from positive law, but are anterior to it, though it guarantees and secures them, and which may properly be called natural, as attaching to the attribute of personality which is the very ground of human nature: rights which are ethical entities—that is to say, subject to the moral law: rights which are conditioned by duties and are strictly fiduciary in their character. One of these is the right to existence—liberty to live; one the right to personal liberty—to the self-determined use of a man's faculties, mental and physical. Another right, which may properly be called natural, is the right to property. It does not, indeed, according to the accurate distinction of the Schoolmen, belong to the primary sphere of such rights—as, for example, does the right to existence—but to the secondary sphere. "It is not against the natural law," writes Aquinas, "but is added thereto by the discovery (*adinventionem*) of human reason."² Like all rights, it is indissolubly linked to obligations; it is held for the benefit, not merely of the proprietor, but of the community in which it acquires validity and coerciveness. It is, in its original idea, the guarantee to a man, by the State, of the fruits of his own labour and abstinence—that is, of the ethical exercise of his personality. The philosophical justification of this right is that private property is necessary for the explication of personality

(1) The French Revolution doubtless did the great service of proclaiming the august verity, obscured and almost forgotten in the age of Renaissance Caesarism, that man, as man, possesses natural and imprescriptible rights. Unfortunately, its leaders, their heads crammed with the sophisms of Rousseau, and unversed in real political philosophy, had no rational conception of those rights.

(2) *Summa Theologica*, 2, 2, q. 66, a. 2, ad 1.

in this work-a-day world. A desire to appropriate things external to ourselves, to convert them into lasting instruments of our will, is one of the elements of our being. We cannot picture to ourselves a state of existence in which man does not exclusively possess what is necessary for self-preservation. We may say that it is an attribute of man, although we find in the lower animals the foreshadowings of it: counterfeits—if we may so translate *μιμήματα*—Aristotle calls them, of man's life.

Such is the true account of the right to property generally. But ownership of property in land must be considered as being of a more limited and restricted kind than ownership of property in chattels. There is this great difference between the soil and other subjects of property, that its quantity cannot be multiplied. The principle underlying the feudal system that the soil of a country is the common heritage of the country, is a true principle. And the proper justification of private property in land is, that, as a matter of fact, it is for the general benefit. This has been formulated, with his accustomed clearness and succinctness, by Aquinas: "If this field be considered absolutely," he writes, "there is no reason why it should belong to one man rather than to another. But if it be considered relatively to the opportunity of cultivating it, and to the peaceful user of the land, that presents a certain fitness why it should belong to one man rather than to another."¹ That is to say, that private property in land is just, according to the *jus naturale*, not *in se* and absolutely considered, but relatively to the effects which flow from it.

So much as to the right to property in general, and to property in land in particular. In itself, property is not theft, as Proudhon declares.² To quote once more the greatest master of ethics, as I must account him: "The possession of riches," Aquinas writes, "is not in itself unlawful if the order of reason be observed: that is to say, that a man possess justly what he owns, and that he use it in a proper manner for himself and others."³ In other words, property is rightful if justly gained and duly employed. If not—well, if not, viewed from the point of view of *ethics*, it falls under the condemnation too sweepingly pronounced by Proudhon. And as a matter of fact, how much of the wealth of our richest classes can be said to have been justly

(1) *Summa Theologica*, 2, 2, q. 57, a. 3.

(2) "La propriété c'est le vol." The original form of the dictum was "La propriété exclusive est le vol," and it is due to Brissot de Warville. It will be found in his book, *Recherches sur la Propriété et le Vol*, whence Proudhon borrowed it without acknowledgment. There is a pungent saying of St. Jerome which has in some sort anticipated it: "Omnis dives aut iniquus est, aut haeres iniqui."

(3) *Contra Gentes*, lib. 3, 123.

gained? Unquestionably there are large landholders who owe their broad acres to wrong and robbery; those of them, for example, whose ancestors were enriched by Henry VIII. from the spoils of the monasteries and the religious guilds. But a still heavier indictment lies against a multitude of rich men of another order, the possessors of property iniquitously acquired in trade or commerce, or in financial gambling—"the wealthy criminal classes," Mr. Roosevelt has called them. How many of these owe their opulence to dreadful deeds of cruelty and extortion in the eighteenth century when the gospel of *laissez-faire* had free course and was glorified. And, to come to our own days, Sir George Lewis—than whom it would be difficult to find a better authority—writes: ¹ "Many of the large fortunes which have been amassed by 'mushroom' financiers and promoters, during the last decades, have been built upon foundations of trickery, deceit, and fraud, and if we examine the means employed, we find them little different from those of the race-course thimble-rigger." No doubt the men who have thus heaped up riches have, as a rule, kept the windy side of the criminal law. But as assuredly, they have defied the moral law, whose penal sanctions are not less real than those embodied in Acts of Parliament. Nor will the plea of "exceptional ability" avail them. The ability which they have manifested is chiefly that of which Falstaff speaks: ability to steal well.

But further. To render the possession of riches lawful from an ethical standpoint, they must not only be justly acquired, but rightly used. A man speaks of *his* land, *his* goods, *his* money. They are his in a qualified sense. Absolute ownership springs only from creation. We are not absolute owners: we are stewards, usufructuaries, trustees. The right of private property is conditioned by the duty that it should be made a common good for the community which validates and protects it. Can we say, as we look around us, that this duty is adequately fulfilled? I confess that the peans raised in the newspapers and elsewhere over the prosperity of England, fill me with a feeling akin to despair. England a prosperous country? Ah, no! The true test of a country's prosperity is not the superabounding opulence of the few, but the substantial and rational comfort of the many. A man is prosperous when he possesses the means, not of bare subsistence, but of leading his life in security and comfort, according to his position; of developing soul and body; of bringing up his family decently. And a prosperous country is a country in which this is the true account of the people as a whole. The most prosperous nation is not the nation which

(1) In the anniversary number of the *Financial News*.

has most manufactures, most millionaires, the largest imports and exports. The most prosperous country is the country which has the least pauperism. The rational distribution of wealth is of far more importance than its accumulation. The conviction is deep and widespread in England, as well as in the United States of America, that the existing distribution of wealth is, to a large extent, what Mr. Mathews calls it—irrational.

And it is a true conviction. Socialists are well warranted in holding it and in preaching it. But their remedy is futile. Acts of "arbitrary" spoliation, the throwing upon the owners of realised property, and upon the large incomes, an "unfair" share of the burden of taxation (to go back to Mill's adjectives) are utterly inexpedient because they are sovereignly unjust. The order of reason must be observed if we would make things better instead of worse.

For man consists in reason. He alone of all the animals has perception of justice and injustice; he is, in Aristotle's phrase, an ethical animal; and by ethics I mean the science of natural morality indicating what is right and wrong, as befitting or unbefitting a rational creature. And as man consists in reason, so also does the State: "the inner ground for its existence," as Lasson has well said,¹ "is man's endowment of reason, which is the most distinctive part of his manhood." Now assuredly it is not reasonable that the relation of the wage-earner to the wealth which he helps to produce should be such as to give him no recognised right of any kind in the product of his own labour. It is not reasonable that we should find boundless luxury at one end of the social organism and hopeless pauperism at the other. It is not reasonable that great corporations should dominate whole fields of industry, holding the workers in economic slavery, and the consumers in a thralldom hardly less galling. All this is contrary to the true conception of the State as an ethical organism, rooted and grounded in those eternal principles of right which constitute the moral law. And to the general loss of that conception many—indeed most—of the economical evils from which we suffer are due. They are the result of that political atomism which the French Revolution introduced into the world: a doctrine substituting the individual for the family as the social unit: self-interest for self-sacrifice as the law of action: the will, or rather whim, of a numerical majority for the rule of eternal justice. In the elimination of this essential principle of the French Revolution lies the best hope—it is a far-off hope—of the remedy of the economic woes of the civilised world, of the

(1) *System der Rechtsphilosophie*, p. 296.

healing of the nations from their grievous wound. The great merit of Socialism is this : that in some fashion—in a most blind and distorted fashion—it witnesses to the organic nature of Society. Its great demerit lies in its not recognising that inequality is the universal law of life and the universal condition of well-being : that the very idea of the State, as of the family, which is its unit and of which it is the expansion, implies the diversity of its members : that in attacking the wrongs of individualism it attacks the inalienable right of the individual to live out his own life and to make the highest and best of himself, subject of course to the condition that he does not infringe the like right of others : that for the economic slavery of some, it would substitute the economic slavery of all.

Dr. Ingram has somewhere remarked : "The social destination of property in land, and of every species of wealth, will be increasingly acknowledged and recognised in the future, but the result will be brought about not through legal institutions, but by the establishment and diffusion of moral convictions." I believe this to be a true prophecy so far as regards the increasing acknowledgment and recognition of the social destination of property. I believe, too, that moral convictions will have much to do with its realisation. But I feel convinced that those moral convictions will have to be largely embodied in legal institutions. The present industrial chaos is due to the lack of organic unity. The task which lies before us is the restoration of that unity. Assuredly the State may, by apt legislation, do much for such restoration. Professor Menger has well observed that it is a function of Government to "extract from the interminable popular and philanthropic utterances constituting Socialistic literature the underlying ideas, and to translate them into scientific concepts of right."¹ The State is vitally interested in the well-ordering of economical relations ; it is an ethical organism, and as such is bound to maintain the conditions without which a free exercise of the human faculties is impossible—conditions to which both the anarchic individualism of the old Political Economists, and the enforced equality of Socialism, are alike fatal. Let me indicate, in the barest outline, and as if by a few strokes of a pencil, some ways in which the State may and should work for this end.

First, then, as to capital and labour. It has been admirably remarked by Mill that "for any radical improvement in the social and economical relations between labour and capital, we have chiefly to look to the regular participation of the labourers

(1) *Das Recht auf den vollen Arbeitsertrag in geschichtlicher Darstellung*, p. 3.

in the profits derived from their labour."¹ For independence we must substitute interdependence: for competition, co-operation. The State should actively encourage, and by wise legislation aid, the systematic organisation of industrial society—organisation based on common pursuits, common aims, common duties, common interests.

Secondly, the State should effectively interfere in industrial contracts for the protection of those who are unable to protect themselves. This is now so generally recognised that fewest words about it may suffice. The Anglican Bishop of Southwark, speaking in the House of Lords on the 30th of last August, said—most truly—that the classes of labour which were unorganised and unprotected by legislation made the greatest contribution to the ranks of the unemployed. He told their lordships of women in his diocese who were working from 6 a.m. to 11 p.m. daily for seven shillings a week, "nominally"; for, he added, "there are cases where the wage is only half that sum; sometimes large deductions are made from the sixpence per shirt." One thinks of the profoundly true dictum of Carlyle: "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work is as just a demand as governed men ever made of governing: it is the everlasting right of man."

Thirdly, as to monopolies. The text-books tell us that the law of England abhors them for three reasons: "the raising of the prices, the deterioration of the commodity, the impoverishment of poor artificers." These are quite sufficient reasons why the law should control them. How? Ten years ago Professor Ashley, in an address on American Trusts,² which deservedly attracted much attention, said: "I see nothing for it but that in countries where the monopolising movement is well under way the Government should assume the duty, in some way, of regulating prices." This might be done by means of a Board formed in the same manner as the Railway Commission.

What are sometimes called public utilities are also monopolies, though of a different kind. Mill has remarked, "A road, a canal, a railway are always in a great degree practical monopolies, and a Government which concedes such monopoly unreservedly to a private company, does much the same thing as if it allowed an individual or an association to levy any tax they chose for their own benefit on all the malt produced in the country, or on all the cotton imported into it."³ We may add to Mill's list telegraphs, telephones, waterworks, and gas or electric lighting. It seems to me that the case for State ownership of all these public

(1) *Principles of Political Economy*, Book V., ch. x., p. 5.

(2) It will be found in his book, *Surveys Historic and Economic*.

(3) *Principles of Political Economy*, Book V., ch. xi., p. 11.

utilities is overwhelming. It would certainly mean for the community at large better service, lower charges, and for employees improved conditions.

Fourthly, as to taxation. There can be no question that at present the public revenue is raised by a system—if system it can be called—which is irrational and unjust. The ideal of a fair impost is an *ad valorem* tax on property : not merely on land, but on the whole bounty of nature—the earth and all that therein is, except man himself, whether it exists in a natural or transmuted state. But in existing industrial and commercial conditions, this ideal cannot be realised ; the tax intended to be imposed on all property would turn into a tax on real property. There are two great fundamental principles which should underlie all fiscal systems, and which at present are adequately realised in none : the principle of equality of sacrifice and the principle that indirect taxation, if resorted to at all, should fall not on necessities, but on luxuries. Two imposts much debated just now are the income tax and the death duties. Who can rationally doubt that these imposts should be progressive? The principle of equality of sacrifice absolutely demands it. The details of just graduation¹ cannot be here discussed ; the subject is too great and too intricate. The object of such graduation is, of course, to transfer the burden of taxation from classes now over-taxed—among them is the great middle class in this country—to classes that are under-taxed, in order to realise distributive justice, both as to public burdens and public benefits.

Fifthly, as to the unearned increment, especially in the case of land, virtually the only form of property which increases in value without the expenditure of labour—or, at all events, the only form which need be noticed here. It is unquestionable that this increase in land values is created by the community. It seems just that at all events a considerable portion of it should be taken by the community. What portion is a question to be considered from the point of view not only of abstract justice, but also of equity and expediency. Let us glance at New York—that will be less invidious than to take an example from our own country. During the ten years from 1890 to 1900,² according to the official returns, the net increase in land values was \$1,000,000,000, which vast sum went into the pockets of the owners of the land on which New York City stands. "The Astor

(1) Mr. Carnegie, whose modesty is as striking as his munificence—not long ago, speaking in the New York Steel Institute, he ranked himself among "those who do a great work, and who really feel and know that they have received more than ten times more recognition than they were entitled to"—is fully conscious that large properties owe ransom to the community, and would levy death duties at the rate of 50 per cent. on the largest of them.

(2) The increase in the single year 1908 has been estimated at \$284,000,000.

family," writes Mr. Mathews, "is an oft-given illustration of the manner in which it is possible to roll up millions by simply getting possession of the values produced by the growth of a community, without engaging in any productive industry, or without necessarily making any return whatever to Society. Soon after John Jacob Astor came to this country he began to buy land, and his family have faithfully followed his example until to-day, when their wealth is estimated at about \$5,000,000,000, chiefly the increase in land values because of the growth of New York City."¹ Meanwhile, a considerable portion of the inhabitants of New York, whose labours have gone to produce that enhanced value, are housed and nourished as we have seen in a former page of this article. These facts are more eloquent than any tropes.

Lastly, speculation in stocks and shares is not the least important matter in which the State should interfere by stringent legislation, on economic as well as on ethical grounds. To get possession of wealth without earning it, without producing the values represented by it—wealth, be it remembered, which really belongs to someone else—is morally wrong, and should be branded as legally wrong. The utterly unfruitful and unprofitable "operations" with stocks, shares, bonds, and in recent years even with produce like cotton and wheat, are gambling of the worst kind; nay, more, are essentially usurious, and should be rewarded not with a "pile," but with the pillory. Usury has been defined by the Fourth Lateran Council as "the attempt to draw profit and increment without labour, without cost, and without risk, from the use of a thing which does not fructify." It would be impossible to describe better the proceedings of the predatory financier who purchases a thing with no intention of getting possession of it, but merely to make a profit from its changes in price. The repression, under severe penalties, of these utterly unproductive operations, this wholly unfruitful manipulation—often flagrantly dishonest—of existing wealth, should certainly have a prominent place in our programme of social reform.

"Our Programme of Social Reform." Assuredly such a programme, thoroughly well thought out, and unflinchingly carried through, is the one thing needful to preserve the existing framework of Society. The only way of maintaining the rights of property is to redress the wrongs of poverty. "Justitia fundamentum regni." Other foundation can no man lay. "The moral laws of nature and of nations" reign everywhere, by their mandates and by their penalties. And a people which transgresses them inevitably incurs the retribution which is the other half of crime.

W. S. LILLY.

(1) P. 18.

WHEN THE DOOR OPENED.

MY FIRST REPORT ON THE EXPLORATION OF THE OTHER WORLD.

I PUBLISHED in the pages of the FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW, May, 1909, a statement of my reasons for attempting the Exploration of the Other World, of the methods I proposed to use, and of the results I hoped to attain. Six months have passed, during which I have had an opportunity of putting my theories to the test, and I feel that it is due to the readers of my former article to send in a preliminary report as to the results.

Since I published my scheme for the Exploration of the Other World that lies all around us—that is so near and yet so far—all the newspapers have been full of the stories of the achievement of the world-old quest of the North Pole. In the United States for the last two months the claims of rival explorers have been debated with a vehemence almost as great as that aroused by a Presidential contest. Publishers have competed keenly, staking thousands of pounds for the privilege of printing the narrative of a journey across desolate expanses of uninhabited ice to an unrecognisable mathematical point which could only be fixed by astronomical observations, the very terms of which are unintelligible to the majority of eager disputants who champion in pot-house or on platform the claims of Peary or of Cook. Apart from the sporting excitement aroused by the winning of what may without disrespect be described as the great obstacle race of the Planet, the discovery of the North Pole is not of the slightest practical or personal interest to any human being. To achieve that end, however, money is lavishly spent, lives are recklessly risked, the extremity of privation is cheerfully undergone, and all mankind stand agaze in eager wonder and admiration.

How different is it with the Other World, the exploration of which, with slender means and the scantiest of resources, I have undertaken. I have been seeking, not merely to arrive at a given geographical point which everyone admitted must exist. I have had to search out and ascertain in the first place whether the Other World has any actual existence at all. Its non-existence is stoutly affirmed by a few, accepted as unknowable by many. Even those who nominally profess to believe that it exists hold their faith so timorously that they shrink from putting it to the simple test of observation and experiment. The Other World, for the immense majority of men, orthodox or unbelievers, has

become a kind of lost Atlantis lurking unknown beneath the Sargosso Sea, cumbered with the debris of a thousand religious creeds. Yet, if the almost universal tradition of the race has any foundation in fact, if the speculations of the greatest philosophers and the unwavering testimony of the founders of all religions be true, the existence of the Other World affects us—every one man and woman of us—most nearly. For if beyond the valley of the shadow there lies another world into which all the children of men are destined in a few years to pass, it seems the height of irrationality to treat with indifference or contempt the attempt to obtain some authentic evidence as to the nature of the country to which we are all bound, and the extent to which our lot there is affected by our conduct here.

This is the justification of the experimental excursions of discovery which have been carried on by me under the direction of the late Julia A. Ames for the last six months. Our *modus operandi* was of the simplest. We believed that we had heard a voice, or, to be more accurate, that we had received as by some wireless telephone articulate intelligible messages from a friend who had passed over the river of death some years ago reporting that the undiscovered bourne from which no traveller was supposed to be able to return was in reality a region the inhabitants of which were constantly returning to mingle in the busy haunts of men. In accordance with the suggestions contained in these wireless communications, I opened Julia's Bureau, hoping merely to enable those who have been bereaved of their beloved to come into living communication with their dead. The results have so far exceeded my most sanguine expectations. We have undertaken nearly two hundred cases, most of which are still in course of examination. In my previous article I claimed that if in only 10 per cent. of the cases success was attained the opening of the Bureau would be more than justified. The percentage of success is much greater than 10. In more than one-half of the cases completed, the dossiers of which are filed in our archives, the applicants have signed a statement declaring that they were satisfied they had been brought into communication with their beloved dead. When the year is out I will publish a detailed report upon the results of the working of the Bureau so far as its primary purpose is concerned, viz., the reuniting of the loving hearts of those temporarily severed by what men call Death.

With that brief statement as to the results of six months' experimental exploration, I pass on to report what has been the most unexpected result of our journeyings in the great Unknown. We set out merely to link together a few undistinguished units

in the great multitude of mourners with their equally obscure friends and relatives on the Other Side. In pursuing this strictly limited quest, we stumbled upon a discovery which seems to be at least worthy of examination and discussion. It may be that the wit and wisdom of the great public may be able to supply a satisfactory hypothesis which will triumphantly explain the facts I am about to record. My task as an explorer is not to dogmatise, but to observe carefully and to record faithfully and patiently the result of my observations, leaving to others the task of reconciling the new facts with existing systems of science or religion.

My original idea was to confine myself solely to the attempt to put those who still inhabit their physical bodies in communication with those whom they have loved who have passed over to the Other Side. But, as a South African ex-Chief Justice pointed out, this was a very unilateral arrangement. If our working hypothesis was a correct one, there must be at least as much eagerness on the Other Side to communicate with their friends still inhabiting this world as there was on our part to communicate with them. We therefore opened a door, so to speak, through which those who had passed beyond might return if they wished to communicate with this world. The results have been surprising, to say the least.

Before proceeding further let me briefly explain the method employed. Julia's Bureau consists of two establishments, one in Mowbray House, 14 Norfolk Street, Strand, and the other in the suburbs. In each of these a small permanent staff is maintained for the purposes of the Bureau. The *personnel* of these two staffs assemble every morning at 10 o'clock in Julia's room to meet Julia, receive her instructions, and report progress. This morning meeting is partly religious, partly scientific, and partly devoted to business. The conduct of its proceedings has been strictly laid down in every detail by its invisible Directress, who, clearly visible to clairvoyants, occupies her chair at the table. The meeting is always opened by prayer, and closed by singing the doxology. Each member of the staff presides and conducts in turn.

After reading a selection from one of the Bibles of the world's literature, the minutes of the previous day's meeting are read and confirmed, after which messages received during the previous twenty-four hours by the automatic writers of the staff are read and passed on to the archives. Julia's decisions as to the applications for the use of the Bureau are then read. They are taken independently at her two offices by automatic writers, who act as her amanuenses—and if, which very rarely happens, not once

in a hundred times, there should be any variance between these independently recorded decisions, the matter is referred to Julia in person, whose judgment as received by the Clairvoyant is final. After this is done, the door, metaphorically speaking, is open for the admission of visitants from the Other World, whose arrival is seen and reported by our clairvoyants, and whose messages, repeated aloud by the clairaudient, are noted down by the stenographer. Sometimes, although not often, one of the staff is controlled by one of these visitants, who prefers to use the vocal organs of the medium rather than content himself with the delivery of a clairaudient message. What we soon discovered was that the number of visitants—visible and audible to clairvoyants and clairaudients—who wished to communicate, was more than we could adequately handle at the London office. I opened, therefore, a kind of succursale at Julia's suburban office, where messages might be received by automatic writing from those who preferred that method of communication.

It is from the records of the messages thus obtained that I proceed to make extracts which will enable the reader to form some idea of their nature and to speculate as to their origin.

Before quoting the text of these communications, I may mention two instances in which unexpected visitants unknown even by name to the staff of the Bureau manifested themselves for the specific purpose of giving timely warning as to impending mishap. The first occurred at Julia's suburban succursale.

On Whit-Monday two sensitives sitting, as was quite unusual for them, at a table, received a definite warning, spelt out letter by letter, that a certain lady well known in English society would that week have an accident to her motor-car. It would be run down, and therefore she was urged to postpone motoring for a week. The message was given in the name of a man unknown to either of the sitters. It was reported to me in due course next morning at the head office. By half-past one a typewritten report of the warning was posted to the lady whom it concerned. Unfortunately, she had left home in her motor-car that morning. At six o'clock the following night, Wednesday in Whit week, I received a telegram from the lady. She was in bed under medical attendance. Her motor-car had been run down by a motor-omnibus as she was passing through London. It was a wet day. The omnibus had skidded in rounding a corner, and had struck the car, completely demolishing the back part. The lady and her maid had had a miraculous escape with their lives. They were sent home by train, and, on arrival, after being bandaged up by the doctor, my friend was allowed to see her letters. One of the first that she opened was the report from Julia's Bureau as to

the message of warning. She recognised the name of the sender as that of a friend on the Other Side who had promised to watch over her safety.

The second instance occurred at the head office. The morning after I had promised to go to Chalons to be present at the trial of the new monster triplane which Messrs. Voisin have built from the designs of M. Bolotoff, our clairvoyant, when the door had opened, reported that someone standing behind me was saying that he was glad I was going to Chalons, and that he proposed to accompany me. He said his name was Lefebvre. None of the circle knew anyone of that name. In reply to my questions, he said he was interested in aviation, not so much as a balloonist as a mechanician, and that he was specially interested in the Bolotoff machine. But he added a strong warning to the young Russian to examine his engine, as he feared there was something might go wrong there. He then departed. Next day he called a second time, merely to express again his satisfaction that I was going to see the trial of the aeroplane. That evening, making inquiries, I learned for the first time of the death of Lefebvre, who had been killed when I was in Copenhagen. Next morning, when Lefebvre again presented himself, I asked him if he was the Lefebvre who had been killed ten days before. "Of course I am," was the reply. "I thought you knew it all the time." He then gave some particulars about his own death, and of the difficulty he experienced in seeing things in focus except through some living person's eyes.

I asked him if he used our eyes as telescopes. "No," he said; "rather as the lens of a camera obscura. Everything that you see is reflected upon your aura, and I see it there. For instance, I see this room and all those who are in it quite distinctly. Shut your eyes!" I did as I was told. "Now I see nothing," he said. "But the moment you open your eyes I see everything again."

I went to Chalons. On the evening of Monday M. Bolotoff, having carefully examined his engine, prepared for the trial night. I need hardly say I had communicated to him Lefebvre's warning. The engine in the Bolotoff aeroplane is exceptionally powerful. It is a 100 horse-power Daimler, lifted bodily from the motor racing-boat that broke all records last year at Monte Carlo. It had been run twenty-four hours without a stop; it was believed by everyone to be the one part of the Bolotoff aeroplane which was certain to work well. Nevertheless, when they tried to start the engine, it would not fire. After much trouble, it back-fired, then it back-fired again. This time

it broke the starting handle, and the trial flight had to be abandoned. As I left the engine, M. Bolotoff's mother, Princess Wiassemsky, remarked to me, "I don't much believe in your spirits, but it is very remarkable that it is the engine which has spoilt the trial just as Lefebvre said."

In these cases a certain foreknowledge or prevision of the future is indicated, but it is not on that account I record them here. It is merely to illustrate how unexpected and unknown visitants press in at the door which has been opened at Julia's Bureau. This brings me directly to the object of this article—the transcript of certain messages received in the same way either by the clairaudient and trance mediums at Mowbray House or the automatic writer in the suburbs which purport to come from the leaders of British political parties who have passed on, concerning the political and constitutional crisis which is now agitating their successors.

A word of preliminary explanation may be useful here in order to enable readers not familiar with psychical study to understand exactly what takes place when such messages are received. So far as the utterly sceptical materialist is concerned, what happens is this :—"Men or women who profess to have certain mysterious gifts write or speak such messages all out of their own heads, and that is all there is to it." I admit "that that is all there is to it," so far as anything is visible to the ordinary eye. I make no claim on behalf of the hypothesis which personally commends itself to me; I merely chronicle the facts as they occurred. The communications reached me in three ways from different intermediaries—two men and a woman. The three are not politicians; one who spends most of his life abroad does not possess even the ordinary acquaintance with British politics and politicians that is shared by the man in the street. Neither of the others takes sufficient interest in politics to follow with attention the course of contemporary political controversy. All three differ widely in character, education, and temperament. Their interest is psychic, not physical; one of them, at least, rather resents the intrusion of the politicians into a sphere that ought to be consecrated to things of a less fleeting interest. In religion one is Anglican, the second an occultist, and the third an eclectic spiritualist. They have not the gift of political imagination, nor have they the mental furniture necessary to enable them to write unaided an article on British politics.

These things I can vouch for, and if the question be raised the sensitives are in evidence, and can be cross-examined, not so much as to their knowledge, as to their nescience of contemporary politics. They are as honest and sincere searchers for the truth

as I am myself. I vouch for their integrity as I do for my own.

The process of receiving messages, as they explain it, is as follows:—

(1) By automatic writing. The sensitive, sitting alone at Julia's suburban centre, taking a pen in hand, rests it lightly on the surface of the paper, making the mind a blank and allowing the hand to move freely without any exercise of the will in directing its movements. Messages are written daily at the Bureau automatically—the automatic writer not having the remotest idea as to what is coming, or from whom it purports to come until the message actually appears on the paper.

(2) By clairvoyance and clairaudience. The sensitive, sitting in the circle with the rest of the staff, closes his eyes, and shading his face with the hand, makes his mind by an effort of will absolutely passive. The object desired is to have the receptive mind as unruffled as the surface of a silent lake, which reflects as in a mirror all the stars of heaven. He then senses by his clairvoyant gifts the forms to ordinary sight invisible, either of visitants from the other world or of the astrals of the living who may be present. He describes what he sees to a stenographer. He then listens to the voices inaudible to others, which proceed from these—to others—invisible forms. He gathers the impression of their thoughts as it strikes upon the placid, mirror-like surface of his mind, and then embodies their thoughts to the best of his ability in his own words, which are also taken down by the stenographer.

(3) By trance mediumship. In this case the sensitive goes into a trance. He loses all consciousness of his surroundings, and his bodily organs are then taken possession of and used for the time by one of the disembodied visitants who wish to communicate with the company by articulate speech. The control during trance lasts as long as the controlling intelligence can stay. At its close the sensitive wakes up and remembers nothing of what has passed.

I am giving this account of how they receive their messages, as their version of the origin of the communications which I am now about to record. The sceptical reader may dismiss it, if he pleases, as the claptrap jargon of the mystagogue. It is interesting to know, but entirely unnecessary to accept as true, the explanation given by the writers and speakers as to how they believe they receive their messages.

One day last month I had spent an hour in the afternoon in a vehement discussion with a certain noble lord as to the probable course of the crisis between the Lords and the Commons. The substance of this conversation I reported in an interview in the

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One day last month I had spent an hour in the afternoon in a vehement discussion with a certain noble lord as to the probable course of the crisis between the Lords and the Commons. The substance of this conversation I reported in an interview in the

October number of the *Review of Reviews*. That evening the thought occurred to me that if the denizens of the Other World really did communicate with us, and if they still retained interest in sublunary things, it would be extremely interesting, and might be exceedingly important, to hear the present views of such famous leaders as Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Bright on the threatened collision between the two Houses. Once or twice both these statesmen had written their names in the call book at Julia's suburban centre, but they had confined themselves to writing their names—the handwriting bearing considerable resemblance to their former signature.

There seemed nothing intrinsically impossible in the supposition that they might be willing to express an opinion on the fight about the Budget, assuming, of course, that human beings, when they cast off the mortal coil, retain their interest in the subjects that interested them when on earth.

However presumptuous or absurd my action may seem to those who reject my working hypothesis, it is obvious that to one who accepts that hypothesis such a method of direct inquiry was as logical as it was inevitable.

Accordingly, when the circle met at Mowbray House on the morning of September 25th, and the "door had opened," I briefly stated the nature of my previous day's conversation, and expressed a hope that if either Mr. Gladstone or Mr. Bright were present or within hail, they would tell us what they thought of the crisis. The Clairvoyant said he could sense neither of the persons named. After a message from my son about another matter, the Clairvoyant exclaimed suddenly :

"It is very strange—it is very curious—I have never seen him before, but at the present moment I sense Benjamin Disraeli. He is standing over there beside you."

"Really," I exclaimed, "I am delighted to hear it. But he is about the last man I should have expected to meet. For Lord Beaconsfield, I know, was formerly a most ferocious opponent of yours."

I report the conversation which followed, as if, let us say, it had been an attempt on the part of the Clairvoyant to try to emulate "The Imaginary Conversations" of Walter Savage Landor. Many things have changed at Printing House Square, but the original irreducible deposit of faith remains in one particular unaltered and unalterable. General Booth must always be described as a "General" in inverted commas. I do not propose to worry the reader by putting the names of the alleged or pseudo Disraeli in inverted commas. What is printed after his name is what was taken down from the lips of the sensitive, who said

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that he saw clairvoyantly a figure in the likeness of Disraeli, and who said that he heard clairaudiently the words reported below.

After my remark that I had been an old enemy, the Clairaudient said :

"Disraeli—is saying—'I know. We were opposed then, but I have changed somewhat since I passed over. In fact, I may say I have changed very much in some things. I am keenly interested in the trend of affairs at the present moment.'"

W. T. S. : "Mr. Disraeli, we should very much like to know your views on the Budget."

DISRAELI : "It is difficult for me to come into close touch with the earth plane. It will rather surprise you when I tell you who links me up with the political world at present—it is Lord Robert Cecil."

That was the first appearance on the scene of the Invisible Entity that claimed to speak in the name of Benjamin Disraeli, whose appearance he assumed.

The Clairvoyant spoke slowly, as if hearing with an effort a voice speaking at a great distance.

Disraeli came frequently afterwards, and used, as occasion offered, all three forms of communication. His messages were sometimes heard clairaudiently, sometimes written automatically, but the method he most preferred was to control a sensitive in trance, and to use his lips as his own. This he did on two occasions.

On hearing that he used Lord Robert Cecil's eyes, I said : "Really, that does surprise me. Then you see the situation through his eyes in a *camera obscura* sort of way."

DISRAELI : "Yes."

W. T. S. : "Do you advise the Lords to throw out the Budget or not?"

DISRAELI : "The conflict in a way amuses me. As you know, I possessed, and still possess, a keen sense of humour, and I can well see the cleft stick into which this present Government has placed the House of which I was an honourable member. My sympathies are with my class, although I have a profound contempt for the great mass of those with whom I worked in the Upper Chamber. Were I still in the flesh I would, as a matter of policy, advise them to pass the Budget, and then to take a General Election as soon as possible so that the issue, unbiassed by the question of the Lords, would be confined to what you are now calling Tariff Reform."

W. T. S. : "Tariff Reform, Tariff Reform, Mr. Disraeli! Did you not say when you were alive that Protection was not only dead, but damned?"

DISRAELI: "I did, and it was true, but I am speaking not of truth, but of the policy for my party."

W. T. S.: "Can you see what is going to happen apart from what ought to happen? Lord — is certain that the Peers are going to throw the Budget out. Can you see anything about it?"

DISRAELI: "I cannot give you any clear opinion on this matter, as I can only judge through the person I am attached to, but I am of the opinion that at the long last the Budget will be accepted. That is what I believe. Gladstone also concurs with my opinion."

W. T. S. (to clairvoyant): "Are Gladstone and Disraeli on good terms now?"

DISRAELI: "Gladstone and I get on admirably, but I seldom see Gladstone, as he is on a different plane of being."

THE CLAIRVOYANT: "It is difficult to gain contact with Gladstone, for the moment he is connected in his thought sphere with some scheme of Church Reform. I sense John Bright here now. Disraeli says he was present last night when you were holding that conversation on this subject."

DISRAELI: "That is why I am here this morning."

W. T. S.: "How I hated you in those days like the very devil. Do you know that I wrote a leading article every day for three years telling you to go to hell?"

DISRAELI: "You must be very disappointed to find that your wish has not been gratified. You will be surprised to hear that when you were talking last night Lord Salisbury was behind you influencing your words? He is very much opposed to the Lords throwing out the Budget. He says they will be mad if they do."

DISRAELI (continuing): "In the election which is almost imminent, there will be an enormous number of the old fighters returning for a few brief days to the earth plane. Then take your chance to get into touch with them."

W. T. S.: "I do not see why there should be an early General Election if the Budget passes."

DISRAELI: "I think you will find that there will be an election very soon. Good morning, I must go."

Extract from Morning Sitting, September 27th, 1909.

W. T. S.: "Are any of our political friends here?"

CLAIRVOYANT: "No; I cannot see any."

W. T. S.: "I have been reading Lady Cardigan's memoirs. She relates how Lord Beaconsfield proposed to her, and how she rejected him. I wonder if he is here, and could tell us if there is any truth in this?"

CLAIRVOYANT: "He is here."

DISRAELI : "It is quite true. I had my moments of foolishness like other men, and this was one of them. It was merely an episode. I have often thanked my lucky stars that she did not accept me."

W. T. S. : "She does not write nicely about you now, but I am very much interested in her picture of the life of the aristocracy. She does not mention a book that she ever read, and only remembers the scandals of her time."

DISRAELI : "That is quite true, but why make such a fuss?"

W. T. S. : "Because the people reared in her *milieu* have arrogated to themselves the right to govern the country."

DISRAELI : "For God's sake, do not set yourself up on a pedestal. We are all very much alike. You are making too much fuss about this one thing."

W. T. S. : "We are going to make a fuss about a lot of things, and this book will be useful as a stink pot in the campaign."

DISRAELI : "You English people steep yourselves in sex things all the time. The Lords are all right; if they have the means and the money, let them enjoy themselves. The Lords will go their own way. Let them. They will have their day while means and money last."

W. T. S. : "My dear Lord Beaconsfield, is that not an immoral doctrine? You once described our nobles as barbarians who lived in the open air and never read books."

DISRAELI : "It is true; but they are useful for show purposes. You must allow me now to say what I think. I could not do this when I was in the earth life."

A LADY OF THE CIRCLE : "Will you not write through my hand?"

DISRAELI : "I shall find it difficult to write through you. I want a man to express myself through. But do not be shocked at my rather crude language."

W. T. S. : "Lord Beaconsfield, I want to ask you if you are interested in the opening up of communication between the two worlds?"

DISRAELI : "There is much that interests me in this, and I am much pleased to have contacted your Bureau."

W. T. S. : "Can you see through my eyes?"

DISRAELI : "No; I cannot see through anyone here. At present I cannot even see the room."

W. T. S. : "Though you cannot contact me or see with my eyes, will you be able to use my hand automatically?"

DISRAELI : "I shall be able to use your hand because the lady who is called Julia will assist me."

W. T. S. : "Have you ever revisited Hughenden?"

DISRAELI : "Yes. Many times."

A LADY OF THE CIRCLE : "I have heard that the primrose was not your favourite flower."

DISRAELI : "No; I never cared for it. My favourite flower was the carnation. Now I must leave you."

W. T. S. : "Is Gladstone here?"

DISRAELI : "No. Julia says he is still wrapped up in his High Church ideas. He is still very busy."

At this point Disraeli left. I then addressed myself to the Directress of the Bureau : "Julia, there is a question I would like to ask. Here is Lord Beaconsfield talking as if he were still the same cynical character that he was on earth."

JULIA : "That is because when he comes into touch with men he takes on the earth conditions again, but he has not much changed. I shall be very glad to help him to write with your hand."

On October 4th the Clairvoyant said : "Disraeli is here."

W. T. S. : "Is the future more clearly seen now than it was when last you came?"

DISRAELI : "As far as I can see, I much regret to say that although it will be a matter of good policy, the Peers will not reject the Budget."

W. T. S. : "Why do you regret this? Do you want to have the Peers smashed?"

DISRAELI : "I regret it because it seems to me to be quite an undignified position, but it is a matter of policy, and must be done. It is the only way to avoid a smash-up. To reject the Budget would precipitate a more or less revolutionary struggle of which I cannot approve—I cannot."

W. T. S. : "Shall I call you Disraeli or Beaconsfield?"

DISRAELI : "Either. I do not mind."

W. T. S. : "I am extremely interested in hearing whether you have met Catherine of Russia, and what you think of her."

DISRAELI : "I much admire her. She was always one who compelled admiration. I admire her straightforwardness, which made her appear to be somewhat extravagant. She compelled my admiration by her great strength of character."

W. T. S. : "Do you share her sympathy with the Slavs?"

DISRAELI : "Yes, although sometimes I think she is very optimistic."

W. T. S. : "She believes in them as you believed in the Semites. You wrote last night that you longed once more to take a hand in the game. How would you like to take a hand? Can you take part in the game? Cannot you influence people here now? Are you still on the stage or are you in the boxes?"

DISRAELI : "I can influence them, but I am at present in the boxes looking at the fun going on. Dear old Gladstone was much

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perurbed when the question came up again about the Suffragettes."

W. T. S. : "I should have thought he would have cared much more for the House of Lords crisis."

DISRAELI : "He has a peculiar idea with regard to women that they should occupy their places, and he is very disturbed at the militant tactics that are in vogue."

W. T. S. : "How do you get on with each other in your world? How, for instance, did Mr. Gladstone feel when he met Gordon, or you when you met Sir Robert Peel? Do you make it up?"

DISRAELI : "It is only when we come into the earth conditions that we take on our distinctive personalities. I am enjoying the occasion of once more contacting the earth vibrations."

W. T. S. : "You never took an interest in spiritualistic things when you were on the earth."

DISRAELI : "I was far too practical, and at that time I had many things to do. The Semitic race are very materialistic."

It was not till the 8th of October that Mr. Disraeli controlled a sensitive in trance. It was not the same sensitive who had previously reported his words heard clairaudiently. He came without introduction or preface, and at first I was in some doubt as to who it was who was speaking. The previous control said :

"If you can spare a little minute there is someone wants to come and talk with you. I do not think it is going to be a success, but we can afford to try the experiment."

DISRAELI : "This is the first time of my ever attempting to speak in this manner; to me it is somewhat difficult. But owing to a certain call you have made upon me, by sending out very strong thought forces to bring me back, I am here this morning. My interests are still in England and in her politics. Her future and her present condition are very close to my heart. I find myself rather hampered in expressing myself through this man's body, but I want you to gather as much as you possibly can of what I want to say. Men are realising now that England is somewhat more than a little island in the North of Europe. Men are realising to-day that England is an Empire; yet in my day, when I attempted to establish an Empire beyond the sea, when I endeavoured to fix the status of England higher than it had previously stood, my opponents howled at me. Now its expansion has gone on, and its solidarity is coming closer and stronger. South Africa is being consolidated, Australia has become a Commonwealth, and the links that bind the children to the Motherland are becoming stronger and stronger. Now that men have time to look within, men are understanding that it is not a mere question of Party; men are understanding

that it is not a mere matter of whether this man or that man should have prominence in the ruling of the country. The People themselves are awakening. England herself will arouse from her sleep, and she will see exactly the position where she stands. There will be no wavering, you are coming straight to the point, and the flood that has been loosened will sweep away many of the old opinions. You cannot keep out of this, any more than you could keep out of other things you have been forced into. Do not temporise, do not hesitate, but go forward. I cannot say more now. Thank you for the opportunity you have given me. I find it is not so difficult to speak through the body of another man as I at first anticipated."

W. T. S. : "Can you give me your name?"

DISRAELI : "I do not know whether I can give you any idea of myself, but I will try. My keynote is England a World Empire. If it were not so light I should be able so to mould this man's features that you will be able to recognise me. Now!"

(The sensitive assumed Disraeli's familiar pose, and as he spoke he fingered an imaginary eye-glass.)

"Beaconsfield," we exclaimed.

DISRAELI : "Yes, that is right."

W. T. S. : "I have asked an old political friend of yours to meet you here. Can you come?"

DISRAELI : "I cannot make any promise. This has been simply an experiment that I have made. I have been waiting here the whole morning, and this has been a privilege that has been granted to me that I might speak to you."

My next conversation with Disraeli was on October 11th, the morning after Mr. Lloyd George's speech at Newcastle. Disraeli came of his own accord, and began thus :—

"It was a speech after my own heart, but I utterly disagree with it. I was present, and felt once more the blood rushing through my veins, and longed once again to be in the fight. I should like to answer that speech, but alas ! there is no one whom I can work through now."

W. T. S. : "Write through my hand, Mr. Disraeli."

DISRAELI : "It would be impossible. You are too much opposed to the views I would express."

W. T. S. : "I would allow you to write any political 'blasphemies' you liked. Remember, you did not know how easily you could use the medium's body until you tried."

DISRAELI : "Yes, but you would tone down my remarks. The whole of your political make-up would stand in the way. I am talking about what I know will occur."

W. T. S. : "Will you own you are wrong if you get through right?"

DISRAELI : "Possibly, possibly. Alas! why is there no one whom I can use now that Chamberlain has stepped off the platform?"

W. T. S. : "Did you use Chamberlain?"

DISRAELI : "Yes, very much. There is not now one person I can use on my side, on the side of the idiotic gentlemen of the Empire."

Among those who have taken advantage of the open door of Victoria's Bureau, Cardinal Manning, who used to be as a father to me when he was on this earth, was one of the first to come and give us his blessing. He always expressed his regret that I had not found rest in the bosom of his Church. Upon this subject we have had many long and interesting colloquies, and, as might be imagined, the somewhat cynical mood of Lord Beaconsfield jarred upon the Cardinal's finer nature. There were frequent passages of arms between them, and on the morning of October 12th Mr. Disraeli broke out as follows :

"Once a priest, always a priest. How jealous they are that the slightest power should slip through their fingers, even when they have cast off the body which they can no longer use, by which they can no longer dominate the whole of humanity. Yet, I am not going to speak against them. In the economy of life they have been useful; the weak and foolish have had to rely upon the stronger minds; but they relied upon them perhaps to their destruction. Clever was Manning as he was kind, great and mighty as were his powers of sympathy. Yet he was always a priest, and he loved power, even when endeavouring to work for the people. I felt I must come and speak a little this morning, and give expression to the thoughts which arise within me so strongly. Time flows on. The events of history succeed each other so rapidly that soon we become little more than a memory. Oh, how I regret that I cannot have for a little while once again the earth body with which to express my thoughts and feelings.

"You ask about the House of Lords. It is true I never became one of them; they did not forget my origin. They did not forget that I was what they called a Jew; they fawned on me, some were cold to me, and some gladly appealed to me; but I knew that in their heart they hated me. It was different with her whom I had made Empress—for whom I had fought. She interested me, standing as she did in isolation and great grief, nervous as she was, yet holding inviolate her divine right and divine power. Yes, I am glad to be able to make myself manifest."

W. T. S. : "Will you be able to come to-morrow?"

DISRAELI : "I will try. But when one has a brain to use directly, lips to speak through, hands to move, and a face to alter, it is much better than giving it indirectly through the very active and quick mind of another."

W. T. S. : "But your medium is going away."

DISRAELI : "That I regret. It is not often—I never have had to give voice to these words, but yet—I regret."

W. T. S. : "You were at Lloyd George's meeting—how did you hear what was spoken?"

DISRAELI : "We are able to attach ourselves better to the earth influences when there is a collective emotion and the enthusiasm is great. It is better than when we are alone and single. The collective influence of that vast meeting arose from power given off from each individual. By that we were able to attach ourselves; we were able to see better and to see ourselves as we stand in relation to these things. We see things differently from what you do. Many of our seeming differences disappear over her, although our individuality alters very little. You will observe that the priest is still a priest, the politician is still a politician. Old Noll is still a fighting Englishman. I am still myself, thanks be to God! But here I am. It amuses me sometimes to see the actions of living beings, and to see men considering themselves so great whose names will be so soon forgotten. It amuses me to see how they plume themselves upon having started things of which they imagine they are the inventors, but which have really been built up on the thoughts of higher agents than their minds can conceive.

"I am warned by those who have charge of this man that I must soon take my place, and that is not to communicate to you, but to watch."

The sensitive's face then began to change, and the old Disraelian features reappeared.

DISRAELI : "I find the force is difficult to use now, daylight is too bright for building up, but I know the process, and if at any future time I have the opportunity to use this man I promise you that I will show myself."

On the 13th of October, after the usual service at Julia's Bureau, one of the oldest friends and colleagues of Mr. Disraeli came by appointment to meet his former chief. The interview, which lasted for an hour and a half, was one of the most extraordinary at which I have ever assisted. It was not merely that Lord Beaconsfield came; he was followed in succession by many of his contemporaries. I had hoped to have been able to have published all their remarks, but as I never publish an interview without submitting a proof to the person interviewed, and in securing

their consent to publish, I am debarred from reporting the sentiments of many of those who came through the open door on that occasion. Mr. Gladstone addressed the company as if he had been at a public meeting; but he afterwards said that he thought it would be inadvisable that his remarks should appear. Lord Salisbury expressed himself with great freedom, and afterwards said that out of regard for his family he preferred that his remarks should be treated as confidential. Mr. John Bright was extremely emphatic in the expression of his views of the situation, but he also deprecated their publication at the present juncture. Jacob Bright, who came twice, was full of ardour at the prospect of the campaign against the Lords, but expressed his fear that they would shirk a direct contest with the people, the issue of which could not be a moment in doubt.

From the mass of communications which I have received at that interview and on subsequent occasions, I can only select a few samples, giving the first place to Mr. Disraeli, whose consent to the publication of his interview was characteristic. He said, in reply to my question as to whether or not I might publish his remarks, "Do exactly what you like. In any case they will think you are a fool. Do not worry, but go ahead. You have my entire sanction to publish anything I said. Yes, doubly publish it if you like. I will be with you when you write it, and I will correct it."

Those who consented to the publication of their observations were Mr. W. E. Forster, Mr. Charles Bradlaugh, and Mr. Richard Cobden. Mr. Bradlaugh's reason for desiring that his remarks should be published will surprise some people. He said, "By all means publish it. Anything that will tend to break down the intense materialism of which I was once an exponent will be of great use. I will help you all that I can." Mr. W. H. Smith gave me a very urgent message to Sir Acland Hood, which I sent on to him, but he expressed a strong desire that neither his letter nor his accompanying observations should be made public.

The Clairvoyant said :

"Lord Beaconsfield is here between W. T. Stead and his old Parliamentary friend. He greets his friend."

DISRAELI : "You have much changed since my time, but I am very happy to contact you, if only for a brief moment. As you can well imagine, my old Parliamentary instincts are much aroused by the present condition of things, and I only regret that I am not still with you in the flesh, so that I might wield again the forces that gave me such satisfaction in the using in the years gone by."

CLAIRVOYANT: "It is difficult to get what he says. He is reflecting his thoughts upon me, and I have to pick them up as best I can."

THE OLD PARLIAMENTARY FRIEND: "What does he think of the present leadership of his own old party?"

CLAIRVOYANT: ("What a sarcastic man this is.")

DISRAELI: "Leadership! There is no such thing. Do not use the term. There is no leadership. Pray do not speak of it. I am bitterly disappointed. Why do you not find a man—one who knows and can express what he means? Where is that man to-day? I look round the House I loved, and I see no one. Where are the men of fire? Where? Where? I wish I could inspire, could throw my thoughts through anyone in the House to-day, but I cannot—I cannot. There will be much trouble, much indeed. And I cannot see my way clear when I come back again into my old earth conditions. I am rendered impotent by the material I have to work through. It is too stodgy, I cannot work through it."

(In answer to W. T. S.):

"Yes, it is true I can control Mr. Chamberlain, as I told you, but as a working unit he is now practically useless. Yes, yes, his letter was all very well, but it is the personal magnetism of the man that I need to work through."

W. T. S.: "But, as you said you 'could not find one man among all the idiotic gentlemen of the Empire to work through,' might you not accept us of the Bureau as a *pis aller* and tell us what you want done?"

DISRAELI: "From the point of view of policy, I should recommend the Peers to pass the Budget, and then to go to the country after. Why! won't they throw more dust in the eyes of the people? No, sir, the people are too educated nowadays. Therein lies the mistake of '70. You see I have my class to consider. It is not a question of political morality. It is a question of policy. I am still of the same mind that I was when I wrote *Sybil*. I hold the ideas I always preached."

W. T. S. remonstrated strongly with such unregenerate teaching from one on the other side, and asked: "Have you then changed in nothing since the year '80?"

DISRAELI (sharply): "'81, Sir." (More gently.) "When I contact the old conditions I take them on, and with them all my old ideas. Ah! you have no notion of the strength of these old thought-forms generated by ambition and determination. I cannot free myself from them and speak all at once from the serener atmosphere of my present condition."

W. T. S.: "Surely you see more clearly now the blunder you

made in 1877-8, when you backed the wrong horse? Of course, I speak from my point of view."

DISRAELI: "Your point of view! Mere twaddle! My attitude to Russia in '78 was right—quite right. What do you know of the inner aspect of the world of politics in '78? We had an object to attain, and that object was attained. That is sufficient." (Addressing himself apparently to the O. P. F., quietly and calmly) "Let me, for a moment at least, leave my old set political thought-forms, and speak to you from the serener standpoint of my present conditions. Apart altogether, for the moment, from party politics, let us discuss this present crisis (pleadingly). Leave party considerations out of the question. They bring me once again into the arena of the fighter."

CLAIRVOYANT: "Gladstone is here, but is difficult of contact."

DISRAELI continues: "I am profoundly disturbed at the crisis that has arisen, and it is difficult to see the final outcome, even from where we are. We are endeavouring, under higher guidance, to direct the destiny of this our nation, but it is difficult to express what we can foresee, as the brains of the persons we are desiring to influence are sometimes as granite. We make no impression, none at all. I have tried often to speak through my dear friend there (the O. P. F.), but, alas! it is almost impossible. When I descend near to the earth plane, it is like entering a maelstrom of clashing waters. I sense strongly the conditions of this great crisis, one of the greatest that has arisen for many years. The springs are in the under world. It is difficult to speak thus with you. The old forms, the old thoughts, swirl over me. You little know their strength. They retard and hold me back from clear thinking in the present. But as far as I can express myself through this instrument, I should earnestly advise you to avoid a conflict. It will be disastrous in many ways, not from the point of view of party, but of England as England. An actual fight must be avoided. Don't reject this Bill. That is my advice. I speak now, free for the moment from my old self. Temporise, temporise! Don't force the issue. It will be fatal in many ways.

THE O. P. F.: "Will the revolution stop at the House of Lords, or will other institutions of the country be in danger too?"

DISRAELI: "That is what I fear will take place if this struggle be precipitated upon the country at the present time. Oh, that I could control and speak as I used to speak! Not only party, but more important issues are at stake. That is why I must advise this course of action."

CLAIRVOYANT: "Charles Bradlaugh is here. He says that the

hesitating, vacillating mind of Herbert Gladstone, through whose eyes he has to see the situation, disgusts him, and adds: 'I hope that the Upper House will reject the Budget absolutely. It will bring revolution, in which many things will be swept away. I sincerely hope that the Bill will be wrecked, for that will form a rallying cry for the workers, for the people I work with. How I should glory in it!'"

W. T. S.: "But, Mr. Bradlaugh, you know this will not happen. The Peers will run away."

CHARLES BRADLAUGH: "It is difficult to gauge the effect of ignorance and obstinacy combined."

W. T. S.: "Now tell us what will follow in the wake of the House of Lords. Tell us what you think will happen. Will the monarchy be safe?"

CHARLES BRADLAUGH: "The monarchy is safe, but the House of Lords will go, root and branch. Yes, an elective senate will take its place. The Established Church will go, and with it one big barrier will be removed."

W. T. S.: "What about Ireland and the Union?"

CHARLES BRADLAUGH: "The Union with Ireland, as at present constituted, will go also. Oh, yes, secular education is bound to come. My greatest hope lies in the rejection of the Budget. I look for the social reconstruction of England to the Liberal Party, not to the Labour Party. Socialism, as understood in that sense, will end in chaos."

W. T. S.: "What members of this Liberal Party, of which you speak, have you confidence in?"

CHARLES BRADLAUGH: "Asquith himself. He is a solid man, and although I disagree with him, I have confidence in him . . . and very much in Lloyd George. . . . I am extremely pleased with all forms in which the fighting spirit manifests itself. Winston Churchill is used by Randolph Churchill, who works through him."

W. E. FORSTER: "Sir Ed. Grey, the Foreign Secretary, is a strong man, and a man to be trusted. He will be the dark horse of the future. I have watched his career for some years, and he will be the most prominent man in the near future. He is a solid, earnest worker. I am pleased with the progress he has made. He will stand for the best side of the aristocratic movement. Watch him closely. He will repay attention. As to this crisis, my old party sense says fight. From my present position I would say temporise! Temporise on both sides. Yet I cannot see anything the Liberals can do. We ought to leave Party on one side. We want the nation's welfare."

W. T. S.: "Is Parnell's view the same as yours?"

FORSTER : "Parnell is not here, but he bears no love to English institutions. He would gladly see them all tumbled down."

CLAIRVOYANT : "Another voice breaks in : 'Why don't you cut the Gordian knot, and nationalise the land? Pay these people out and let the nation own its land. It would not cost as much as the Boer War. You are rich enough in all conscience. Let the people go back to the land.' The name George comes with this."

W. T. S. : "Ah, Henry George! I am glad you have grown more honest on the other side."

H. GEORGE : "Yes, I have modified my views to this extent. I still hold the main idea of those days—Nationalise the land. But I have entirely changed on that one point. Buy the landlords out. Don't plunder them."

Two days later a clairvoyant sitting out of the ordinary course said :

"Richard Cobden is here." I reprint his remarks exactly as they were taken down by the stenographer.

"I am interested," he said, "in this article (that now before the reader) because of its reactive effects on the thought of the nation at this critical juncture in its political history. Those who have been ever the drags upon the wheels of political progress must be removed. Now is the opportunity. All power and strength to your hand! You occupy a unique position in this matter. Here in your Bureau we come to you—to you alone—we can we come once more into touch with the sphere of Humanity encased in the flesh. The whole of my being thrills at the battle that lies before us. Onward! Forward! Spare not!"

All the great statesmen of the past who came through our Open Door expressed the liveliest concern at the prospect of a conflict with the Lords over the Budget. There were two exceptions—Lord Palmerston and the Duke of Wellington. I reminded Lord Palmerston that when he was Prime Minister Mr. Gladstone forced the Lords to accept the Paper Duty. His reply was concise : "That was paper, now it is land."

Cardinal Manning was very enthusiastic over the Development Bill, and very emphatic as to the impolicy, not to say madness, of rejecting the Budget. He said that the Development Bill was the best Bill that had been brought before the public for many, many years, and he desired to assist in pushing it forward as much as he possibly could.

This is the report which I have to give of what to me is the most extraordinary development of Julia's Bureau. I do not venture to ask any of my readers to accept as gospel truth this strange series of communications from the invisible world. We must bear in mind the immense difficulty of opening up communi-

cations between the incarnate and discarnate. When we remember the ease with which a shorthand reporter listening to a political speech often unintentionally misrepresents the meaning and spoils the point which he endeavours faithfully to report, we must allow a wide margin for error in all communications from the other world, even if we admit their entire authenticity. But when every allowance has been made, it is very extraordinary that a series of communications, so coherent, so definite, and so characteristic, should have been received through three different persons, none of whom are keen politicians, and some of whom do not even know the names of the persons they were speaking about.

I refrain from speculating as to the deductions which may be drawn from the discovery of the fact, if it be a fact, that it is possible for those who have passed over to the other side to return amongst us, and to taste once again the fierce joy of political strife. It certainly savours more of the *Iliad* than of the New Testament, and it recalls the time when the Immortals descended from Olympus to nerve the hearts and to direct the forces of their mortal allies.

But this article is already too long. I will conclude it by the familiar quotation, one of the most beautiful passages in *The Tempest*, in which Caliban, rising for once to heights of poetry, describes the wonders which it would seem are not confined to Prospero's enchanted isle :

. . . The isle is full of noises,
 Sounds and sweet airs, that give delight and hurt not.
 Sometimes a thousand twangling instruments
 Will hum about mine ears; and sometime voices,
 That, if I then had waked after long sleep,
 Will make me sleep again: and then, in dreaming,
 The clouds methought would open, and show riches
 Ready to drop upon me; that when I waked
 I cried to dream again.

W. T. STEAD.

THE O.U.D.S.—AFTER TWENTY-FIVE YEARS.

THE mimetic impulse, common to youth, could hardly be repressed for ever in the healthy undergraduate on the banks of the Isis. Moreover, Cambridge had led the way, and the success of the Amateur Dramatic Club of the sister University, founded in the sixties, seemed well worthy of emulation. Unfortunately, the first essay of the "Shooting Stars" was by no means reassuring to the Vice-Chancellor and others who had long looked askance at these histrionic manifestations. On the contrary, it rather tended to confirm them in their decidedly hostile opinion. However, the "Shooting Stars" vanished into stellar infinitude, and then, after the lapse of nearly a decade, came the Philothespian Society, itself short-lived, but the parent of another body whose amazing longevity of twenty-five years has suggested the present article.

How well I can remember the scene of my own first introduction to Oxford amateur drama. Into a ground-floor room in "Peck," F. E. Shafto-Adair led me one bright May morning, and there, greeting our gaze, sat a young gentleman in an armchair, well-nigh smothered in volumes of stage plays, whilst around him lay scattered the gaudy fragments of a theatrical wardrobe and numerous properties. In the midst of this confusion emerged the head of what appeared to resemble a "singing chambermaid" awaiting the call-boy's summons. The "singing chambermaid" proved to be H. D. Astley, the best male delineator of female rôles I have ever seen; the half-smothered man in the chair was the Hon. James Adderley, the brilliant founder of the Philothespians.

Of this society and its difficulties with the Vice-Chancellor and the Christchurch dons, of the success of Adderley, Astley, Elliott Lees, Adair, the Hon. Gilbert Coleridge, and the rest, in various farces and comedies, including a scene from *The School for Scandal*, this is not the place to speak. I myself took part in these productions, often surreptitious, sometimes audacious. *Nitor in adversum* might well have been our motto. It was even then a matter of surprise that the University authorities should continue to withhold their countenance from a body of undergraduates capable of affording harmless pleasure to many who for the want of it were driven to seek more questionable enjoyment. Three years later, in 1883, *The Merchant of Venice* was performed, not only at Oxford, but in London, at Stratford-on-Avon, and elsewhere, and the success of Arthur Bouchier as

Shylock brought him great notoriety. Next year the condition of the Club caused a split and the ultimate collapse of the Philothespians.

During the Long Vacation of 1884 I went to stay with my fellow-Oxonian Arthur Bouchier at Newbury, and it was then that he laid out the plan which, after a subsequent meeting with Adderley, took formal shape in the foundation of the Oxford University Dramatic Society. Bouchier and I talked the scheme over together, and in the middle of my visit decided to call in the counsel of Adderley; sending him a telegram, we departed for Oxford, and later in the day we three met at a room in the Mitre Hotel.

What we had to consider in our plan of founding a new society were the conditions as regards amateur acting at Oxford prevailing at that time.

Its members had rendered the Philothespian Club little more than a "set" which had so annoyed both the authorities and the 'Varsity itself that the very name acted as a deterrent to new men. Consequently, the Oxford authorities, never more than lukewarm in their opinion of the value of acting as part of University life, were ready to put a veto on an institution likely to present but little power of organised resistance. The seeds of this evil were sown previously to the production of *The Merchant of Venice*, and had now had time to bear fruit, and the success of that play must rather be looked upon as the crowning effort of the old system than as any indication of the merits of the new. Briefly, the Philothespian, as originated by Adderley, no longer existed, and the problem was how to enlist official and undergraduate sympathies to make dramatic art at Oxford move in the right direction.

Adderley felt the necessity for breaking with the past most keenly, and in this he and I were in agreement. At the meeting at the Mitre preliminaries were settled, and we parted, although Adderley still showed reluctance—a reluctance he expressed in a letter I received from him on the following day.

"I have been thinking a great deal," he wrote, "over what we talked about the other day, and I must confess I don't quite understand what the proposal is which you and Bouchier make concerning the Philothespian. If you can explain it fully, perhaps I can give you a more decisive answer as to my action in the matter. Firstly, I want distinctly to understand whether you mean entirely to blot out the Philothespian, in name and existence. Mark you, I don't say I object to this at-all, but I want to know if this is what you mean to do. Do you mean to start a new club or society? If so, have you carefully con-

considered whether this is the best thing to do? I confess I haven't had time to think of it in this light, and that is why I was rather undecided the other night at the Mitre. It was a new idea. Is it not eating humble-pie to hand over a club which has been instrumental in founding to a lot of people of the present type, and then found a new one? Is it really impossible to keep up the old club and improve it? Are you quite sure these factious people cannot be got rid of? Let me know what you and Bouchier think."

In reply I explained to my friend that the maintenance of the Club he had founded in its pristine state had always been my desire, but conditions had altered. The question presented itself in a new light. The element in the old club which made it subservient to "play" would actually be in a majority next term, and so quite overwhelm the remainder. A new committee could not be formed while the right class of undergraduates held aloof altogether. Men would look to Adderley for a cue, and his name would rally old members to regard the new project, not merely as a club, but as a 'Varsity institution. I made it clear that we had to choose between the speedy destruction of the old Philothespian and the establishment of a permanent society which would carry on the old social tradition. As to the hints put out by some that Bouchier had an "axe to grind," I took occasion to acquit the future famous actor-manager of interested motives, and to declare to Adderley that he evidently had no personal feeling in the matter beyond social and dramatic considerations. The upshot was that the founder of the Philothespian lent his name to the new venture. At this juncture Mr. W. L. Courtney was of invaluable service to us, for he succeeded in preventing the veto of the authorities being put upon the Philothespian before there had been time to formulate the O.U.D.S. And the Vice-Chancellor had indicated the lines upon which the University Society could alone obtain official sanction.

It was indeed high time that the step was made. The ostentatious wearing of the colours and the Philothespian roulette play had already become a subject for the London newspapers—greatly to our annoyance. Moreover, bills incurred in the club-rooms were frequently unpaid, and the spectacle of a couple of tradesmen lying in wait for "these here 'Philothespeen'" defaulters was not a pleasant one. And so, at a meeting of the Philothespian Club at the beginning of Michaelmas Term, 1884, Bouchier announced the birth of the Oxford University Dramatic Society. After making this portentous announcement he proceeded to read those present a speech I had composed,

in view of my enforced absence, and which doubtless occasioned mixed feelings. I am bound to observe that my talented friend committed what I may describe as a "technical error" in remaining on the Committee of the Philothesians while he acted as member of the Provisional Committee of the new Society. Or perhaps it was a *coup d'état*. In any case, by this Napoleonic strategy he was able to book the dates which had been bespoken for the Club at the Town Hall for a performance that term, and so dealt a powerful blow at the parent organisation which had avowed its intention of producing a play in spite of opposition.

A word here about our Provisional Committee. It was constructed on popular lines. The dramatic element was represented by Adderley, Bouchier, Courtney, Coleridge, Spottiswoode, and myself, the remainder being made up to include the President of Vincent's, the President of Bullingden, the Captain of the Oxford University Cricket Club, of the Boat Club, the Football Club, the Union, &c.

By Lent Term the O.U.D.S. began to advance with rapid strides. Lane proved a most energetic secretary, securing nearly all the members who now joined the infant Society. Asher, President of Vincent's, was elected as the first President, and he showed himself most careful in framing rules to attract the right people, while Owen was a capable Treasurer. To these three our initial success was largely due.

I should be the last person to deny that Bouchier, besides originating the idea, took the lion's share in all the negotiations for the establishment of the new Society; but the preliminaries were as outlined above, while the actual organisation was the work of its first officers. The books of the Philothesian are now in the hands of the O.U.D.S., and so, in a way, continuity has been preserved to the real founder, James Adderley, whose successful "fight for the drama at Oxford" made the O.U.D.S. possible.

For a term the Philothesian "rump" still lingered on, and then gave up the ghost, leaving debts which it would have been a good stroke of policy for the O.U.D.S., although not legally liable, to have liquidated. To the credit of W. J. Morris, let it be recorded that he set himself heroically to the task of getting many of these cleared, and he subsequently joined the new Society.

And so this little band of Oxford students, loving their Alma Mater, fully appreciating all the benefits of the historic curriculum, yet always conscious that there was something in their 'Varsity life which their souls missed—this thing they had

accomplished, and were very happy in the achievement, making more of it, perhaps, in their hearts than its importance warranted, as is the way, perhaps, of reformers. The next step was to find a home for the Society, and rooms for this purpose were taken in the High. How proud we all were when we got into those rooms one afternoon five-and-twenty years ago, each of us with the feeling that the fate of the national drama was in our keeping! We hit upon *King Henry IV. (Part I.)* as the bill with which the Society should commence its career and justify its existence. The choice was a bold one. The play had not been performed for half a century, having but scant traditional business, containing two heavy sets of battle-scenes, and requiring costly dresses and armour. All these considerations might have damped others, but with us *esprit de corps* carried everything before it, and I am sure I do not exaggerate when I say that neither before nor since has such hard work been put into the 'Varsity play. As I look back now I see a group of ardent actors with many varying interests at Oxford, many cherishing bright thoughts of a career, and all having plenty of other mental occupation, yet toiling like galley-slaves at rehearsals after heavy day's rowing, football, and, later, cricket, for these rehearsals were prolonged through two Terms. Such was the spirit which led the Society on to a dramatic success far outvying any of its forerunners—a representation which for some years remained unique, and the first big work in the way of stage management with which I had been concerned.

Mighty were the efforts required to convert the large and inconvenient Town Hall into a stage capable of bearing a battle of thirty or forty men—some of them, in spite of their exertions, no light weights—in suits of chain armour, besides a setting of rural scenes, some scattered bushes, and a fair-sized hillock. Our talent, I may mention, was not solely histrionic. Mrs. H. G. Woods, wife of the Bursar of Trinity (now Master of the Temple), as well as appearing in the character of Lady Percy, also painted a most charming scene for the Boar's Head Tavern, one universally admired. Then Cosmo Lang, of Balliol, the President of the Union (now Archbishop of York), spoke the Prologue, which was written by another member, George Curzon, of All Souls', now Lord Curzon of Kedleston, and Chancellor of the University. It ran as follows:—

PROLOGUE.

O gentle audience, Don and Undergraduate—
Less gentle might be if o'er long I bade you wait
The Curtain's rising—at this shrine of Science

We meet to join in nuptial alliance
Oxford, a bachelor *præclaro nomine*
 And the famed Grecian maiden called Melpomene.
 For her hath he vows of allégiance taken,
 For him hath she all other loves forsaken.
 Her Virtue's self as pledge for her suffices
 To him a sponsor generous *our* Vice is,
 Not singly comes the Bride, nor by a small staff
 Attended, but a goodly train. Jack Falstaff,
 Old England's Dionysus, God whose votaries
 'Tis said still linger in Collegiate *côteries*.
 For still men love the "Sack"—until they've got it!
 To others are more tragic parts allotted.

* * * * *

In an interview which I had with Dr. Jowett to announce our choice, he showed keen interest in the proposed cast, and his remarks were freely interlarded with ready quotations from the play. When I told him that Coleridge, with his lithe figure, was to play Falstaff, he observed: "Am I not vilely fallen away?" And on my explaining that we had not yet found a Mrs. Quickly, he drily remarked that there were plenty to be found in Oxford!

As to the cast, Bouchier made a capital Hotspur, and, without detracting in any way from this popular actor's subsequent stage successes, I do not think his early Hotspur in the first year of the O.U.D.S. was for a long time by him surpassed. His Brutus later evinced his riper experience, and was a really excellent performance. In Clement Scott's critique, after praising his Hotspur, he remarked that "Mr. Bouchier has what so few young actors possess—life, heart-energy, and spirit. He does not dawdle or dream over his work, but his very impetuosity occasionally spoils the desired effect." Of the truth of this I had, as Prince Hal, a practical example when Hotspur's battleaxe nearly gave the Prince his quietus, in which case much English history need not have been written. As it turned out, the casualties were: Prince Hal—contusions; a scene-shifter—flesh wounds; a limelight box—fatally injured. In looking back now I see clearly that it was by his acting talents that Bouchier was such a tower of strength to our infant Society rather than as press-agent, in which capacity I believe he considered himself as having reached a pinnacle of perfection to which not all of us wished to aspire. But Bouchier's acting and—I will add—his *camaraderie* were invaluable to us all, cheering the perspiring stage-manager in many a weary rehearsal, and giving him the right to be considered the moving spirit in every production at Oxford until his lamented disappearance from the amateur stage.

Another later recruit to the profession was E. H. Clark, who made his first appearance in the O.U.D.S. in the double rôle of Glendower and "a carrier," which he performed admirably. Leechmere (now Sir Simeon) Stuart left the ranks of the Philothesians and joined the O.U.D.S. as an original member, playing with success as Mortimer. Gilbert Coleridge's rendering of Falstaff was most scholarly, in spite of difficulties with his false stomach, which, being made of wicker at his request for coolness, had a tiresome knack of developing a kink when he fell headlong in the Battle of Shrewsbury. Others who contributed to the excellence of this notable cast were Mitchell-Innes, Hugh Spottiswoode, D. G. Hogarth, H. V. Page (the Cricket Captain), Lady St. Leonards, and Lady Edward Churchill, who rendered Lady Mortimer's song in Welsh after a coaching from the Celtic professor. George Curzon's prologue was, according to the *Times*, "fairly delivered by Mr. C. G. Lang, made up as a doctor of divinity, though for what reason he was so attired was scarcely apparent to the house." May it not have been in this case an adumbration of the future honours of the present Archbishop? The complimentary allusion to Dr. Jowett, the Vice-Chancellor, to whom we were all so indebted, was well received. Jowett himself was there, and amongst others of note who graced our initial performances were the Duchess of Sutherland, the Bishop of Oxford, Lord Coleridge, Lord Ronald Gower, the Deans of Westminster and Christchurch, Mr. Herman Vezin, and Mr. Oscar Wilde.

Whatever our deficiencies, that performance a quarter of a century ago awoke much speculation as to the future of dramatic art at Oxford. There were many then who hoped that the University would take some official notice of our efforts. Why should not degrees be granted for acting? it was asked. Are they not given to those who misunderstand Plato and mistranslate Aristotle? One writer—a brilliant man of letters whose career ended in tragedy—wrote suggesting that the D.C.L. should forthwith be offered to Bouchier, Coleridge, and myself! "To the rest of the company," he added, "the crimson or the sheep-skin hood might be assigned *honoris causa* to the eternal confusion of the Philistine and the rage of the industrious and the dull. Thus would Oxford confer honour on herself, and the artist be placed by Convocation in his proper position."

So far the O.U.D.S. had scored a brilliant success. I ought to mention that before the performance of *Henry IV.* the Club was brought up to its full complement of sixty, inclusive of original members. But the Society was not to have everything

its own way. As a consequence of its success, the enemies of the drama at Oxford were stirred to wrathful protest, and the Press quickly became filled with letters roundly denouncing the Vice-Chancellor in suffering the Society to exist at Oxford. To one of these letters—it was, I think, in the *Guardian*—Adderley sent a pertinent and convincing reply. It was charged that the theatre was an “unhealthy” connection. “As to the unhealthiness of a theatrical connection,” he wrote, “is not this a question which touches society generally, rather than an Oxford dramatic club in particular? Is there not everywhere now a tendency to pry into matters connected with the stage, and does the studious production of a play of Shakespeare really aggravate this tendency?” We were not sent to Oxford to study Shakespeare? No; and were we sent there to row? Yet, argued Adderley, nobody would dream of calling the Putney practice of the ‘Varsity eight a month’s idleness.

A quarter of a century ago there existed a wretched place of entertainment, notorious to old Oxonians as the “Vic.,” and it was the enterprise of the O.U.D.S. that brought about a change of affairs. For a time want of funds proved an obstacle, until, by the zeal of Messrs. Courtney and Bouchier, and the energy of Mr. Drinkwater, the architect, a sufficient sum was collected to begin the work. A pretty little house was the result, capable of holding from eight to nine hundred persons, and it was this new theatre which the Society opened with its second public venture in *Twelfth Night*. This performance was remarkable for two acting triumphs—E. H. Clark’s Malvolio, and Bouchier’s Clown. James Adderley, then in Oxford reading for orders, made his last appearance on the stage in the rôle of a super.

During the year which elapsed between *Twelfth Night* and *The Alcestis* the Society underwent a considerable change. The Club rooms in High Street were abandoned and taken by the Gridiron Club, then newly started. The members of the O.U.D.S., being almost all likewise members of Vincent’s, found them somewhat superfluous. This led to a rather critical state of affairs, for it must be understood that one of the difficulties was, and doubtless is, to maintain the continuity of the society. Oxford is in a perpetual state of flux, and unless the places of the absent are filled immediately, there is a gap which tends to grow wider until the whole body automatically, as it were, vanishes. This is the advantage of an energetic committee, to look after elections of new and promising men, and enforce subscriptions. The interval between the plays was long, and when the rooms in the High Street were given up there was little to

keep the surviving members together. This has now been remedied, for ever since 1896, consule Philip Carr, the Club has been established in a permanent home in George Street. But such was the conjunction of affairs when Bouchier sent me a note to meet him and Courtney at Oxford. The Society had virtually ceased to exist; there was no committee, or none that could be summoned together, so that the whole of the preparations for the most ambitious flight yet undertaken were borne on the shoulders of a triumvirate consisting of Courtney, Bouchier, and myself. We met at Vincent's one afternoon in the winter, and had a spirited discussion about the choice of a play. We decided that a Greek play would be a most diplomatic move, both to propitiate the authorities, whose partiality for Greek was profound and notorious, and also because of the pecuniary advantage certain to be reaped from such a choice. Bouchier offered to undertake the business part, whilst the stage management fell to me, Courtney arranging the version of the tragedy and assisting us both as occasion offered. The "business" part was particularly important just then, for whatever financial balance had accrued from *Twelfth Night* had vanished, and to practise rigid economy in the forthcoming revival and at the same time ensure a thoroughly artistic production was a grave problem.

A most anxious time for me was that of the preparation for *Alceste*; so many strings had to be pulled; so many irons heated in a not always ardent fire. But greatest anxiety of all was the wish to produce something which would be an advance not only upon the last Greek play at Oxford, but upon all our efforts.

Seven years before in the hall at Balliol the *Agamemnon* had been given. Now we had to show how much we had profited by the possession of a fitting theatre and accessories. The Greek plays at Cambridge were the work of a committee of dons, and the *Agamemnon* had been produced on much the same principle; and, as both Courtney and Marriott had always been on the verge of producing a Greek play independently of the O.U.D.S., which would have damaged us, it was a most satisfactory move to absorb this spirit in the Society itself. But this was not to be achieved without difficulties, for the O.U.D.S. had no capital whatever, and if Courtney had not kindly backed the performance and so taken upon himself the office of general manager for this special occasion, a separate Greek society at Oxford might have been the result. A great help was forthcoming to us also in the person of F. H. Jackson, whom we appointed treasurer. He had all the proceeds handed to him

daily, and, after paying all expenses, was gladdened by a balance of over £200, which enabled us to pay off the debt of the Society.

It is curious how the production of a Greek play seems always to yield a pecuniary profit. Never before had the O.U.D.S. such brimming houses as during the week of the *Alcestis*. For the chorus we were obliged to travel outside the ranks of the Society and obtain the assistance of members of the 'Varsity who possessed voices. But Alison Phillips, the chorus leader, who gave the baritone solo ὄναξ Πατρίαν beautifully, was one of our members. That economy which we had to practise in the production proved actually the cause of one of the most effective points. Villiers Stanford, who wrote the music for the Greek plays at Cambridge, had employed a quite modern orchestra, naturally a very expensive item. When I sought out Dr. C. H. Lloyd, the organist of Christ Church, and he had kindly offered his valuable help, I was obliged to own that the Society could not afford more than a very modest sum for the music, and I asked him whether it would be possible to curtail the expense by confining his orchestra to such instruments as would represent the archaic music upon which Euripides must have relied at the original performance. Whereupon Lloyd (who was a scholar as well as a musician) carried out the idea with the most miraculous results. Selecting merely three instruments, the flute, the clarinet, and the harp, he composed the entire music of the play, the vocal part being rendered by the chorus of male voices and one baritone solo. Hence Parratt's music to the *Agamemnon*, which, with pristine severity, was confined to an unaccompanied chant in unison, and Lloyd's music to the *Alcestis*, as described above, had this great superiority over the justly admired and lavish compositions employed at the other University, that they were most clever and successful attempts to reproduce the music of the past. Lloyd's music is published at Novello's, and is well worth studying, quite apart from the dramatic action to which it was wedded. My principal idea in arranging the *Alcestis* was to make a somewhat new departure in the introduction of modern stage rules into the action of the principal characters of the drama, whilst preserving faithfully whatever traces remain to us of the original treatment of the chorus and their entrances. Such an experiment would have been hopeless in *Æschylus*, whereas Euripides lends himself easily to this design, the *Alcestis* especially being quite reducible to the general arrangement of a modern play. The characters are so like characters of to-day, so life-like, and so full of passion, whilst the long orations of *Æschylus* are almost absent from the play. I took the subdivision of the chorus into several speaking

characters from the plan of the *Agamemnon*, but whereas in the latter there were fifteen speakers in all, including the chorus leader, in the *Alcestis* we had the chorus leader and three speakers, the remaining twelve being singers only. The chorus were drilled strictly on the old lines, so far as it was possible to preserve them, the rectangular formation being occasionally utilised as well as the ordinary division into *στροφή* and *ἀντιστροφή*. The principal modernisms for which indulgence was asked in the programme consisted of the following: The avoidance of the hitherto adopted style of giving the speeches without movement, but merely gesture. All the characters moved and grouped themselves as in an ordinary play. Certain effects of lighting; the division of the play into two acts; the termination of the first act with an interpolated funeral march during the singing of *ὡς σχετλία τόλμης*, where the chorus entered from opposite sides, filed on to the upper stage, strewed flowers before the bier of Alcestis, descended in a diagonal march, with wailing and waving of arms, to the lower stage, sang their dirge round the thymele, and then ascended the steps again in a long serpentine course as the funeral procession of Alcestis emerged from the great centre door of the house, and thus left the stage in a long line until the curtain fell on an empty stage, the lower stage for the chorus being in front of the curtain and stretching into the audience. These, with a few other movements, were the main effects used to heighten the impression of the play that had no strict warranty in old custom. The scene we purchased from Dr. Todhunter; it had been designed by Professor Godwin. Hubert Herkomer, the Slade professor, most kindly presented the Society with a drop curtain, only used on this occasion, painted with his own hand, and representing Chance seated on a bubble floating into the sky. The acting, taken as a whole, was good, though we had not a tenth of the talent that figured in *Henry IV*. Bouchier gave a very clever representation of Death, and though he seemed at first rather ill at ease in a Greek play, he settled down, and by the end of the week was impressive in the extreme. He was effective without being melodramatic. A. E. W. Mason (the future novelist) played Hercules, and was said to have looked the part to the life, "especially his legs," which, being unduly padded, were a feature of the performance. With regard to Alcestis, we obtained the kind assistance of Miss Jane Harrison, a professor of Greek at Cambridge, and her rendering had all the advantage of scholarship, but somewhat lacked dramatic power. The boy Eumelus was very well played, and Coningsby Disraeli, who made his first appearance in a speaking part, was, if not very classical, at all events a most amusing Therapon, and greatly

enlivened the play. One critic observed that he sent a thrill of envy through a thirsty audience. Marriott, who, like myself, had played in the chorus of the *Agamemnon*, was an excellent Pheres. But the really finest feature of the whole was the chorus and the supers, who worked with a will, and under Dr. Lloyd's skilled tuition sang beautifully. Owing to the unwillingness of Alceste to be carried off on the bier during the funeral scene, and to the difficulty of providing a suitable-looking dummy, I undertook the dual rôle of Apollo and the corpse of Alceste nightly! The bearers were full of pranks on the last night, and the danger which I then underwent was considerable.

Meanwhile, and during the progress of rehearsals, members were being elected to the Society, and we took good care to have several meetings of the Committee after the play to settle and arrange matters for the future. Tupper Carey, the Hon. Secretary, and Jackson, the Hon. Treasurer, were both unfortunately going down at the end of term, making it necessary to elect a fresh committee before the end of term. No old members were available; consequently it would be necessary to search for suitable candidates among the newly-elected members. I was particularly requested to stay up and assist in re-constituting the Society, and accordingly I remained in Oxford till the end of term.

I have already said that the great difficulty with regard to the Society was the keeping it alive during the twelve months that elapsed between one annual play and another, and, after thinking the matter over, I came to the conclusion that a system of smoking concerts, with perhaps little pieces and sketches, might meet this requirement. This would naturally give the honorary secretary much more to do, and consequently it seemed advisable that this personage should for the future be the chief officer of the Society. As there was no President in office at this time it seemed a good opportunity for allowing such officer, who, since the old Philothespian days, had been a mere figurehead, to drop out altogether. I proposed that the office of Hon. Secretary should only be open to an undergraduate; that the stage manager should cease to be a regular member of Committee, but should only be elected for the purpose of a play, and should then be an *ex officio* member of Committee. At a special general meeting Tupper Carey, the then Hon. Secretary, in the chair, I laid these propositions and the general alterations in the Rules before the meeting, with the result that after some discussion, in which Morris, Hon. A. Capell, Hon. F. Boyle, and others took part, they were all carried. At a subsequent meeting the present members of the Committee resigned, and the posts of

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Secretary and Treasurer filled by the brothers Scott-Montagu. Hon. R. Scott-Montagu seemed to promise well as Secretary and Hon. John Scott-Montagu (now Lord Montagu of Beaulieu), who was a good hand at business, and was already prominently associated with various 'Varsity clubs, as Treasurer. With the exception of H. J. Greenwood, who was elected to serve on the Committee, and Courtney, as Auditor, there were now no old ones available, and the scheme answered completely, for the ensuing two years were amongst the most popular and prosperous which the O.U.D.S. enjoyed, recalling the first days of its existence. The smoking concerts were much appreciated. The member who gave the concert had it in his rooms, being stage-manager for the night, but the Committee had the supervision of the programme. During the ensuing year Robert Scott-Montagu went down, having had a very short time of office as Secretary; John Scott-Montagu then became Secretary, and proved the most energetic that the Society had ever had. He gave up almost everything to the Society, and though he was stroke of the New College Eight, he contrived during the summer term that he was in office to carry out the affairs of the Society and performances as though he had nothing else to do. It was during his time that the Committee had real power and exercised it to great advantage. This Committee, when I was again urged in the following year to go up and join it in the capacity of stage-manager, consisted of Hon. J. Scott-Montagu, W. J. Morris, H. J. Greenwood, Earl of Ancram, A. H. Grahame, and a pleasanter or more hardworking lot of men could not have been found.

In accordance with the principle first adopted in the case of *Henry IV.*, i.e., to give, if possible, representations of those of Shakespeare's plays which had been least often performed upon the stage, *The Merry Wives of Windsor* was selected for our next annual performance. The first difficulty was the selection of the ladies. The Countess of Abingdon kindly undertook the rôle of Anne Page, but for *The Merry Wives* actresses of no slight experience were needed.

Mrs. Charles Sim, who rendered such invaluable help to the Society during the ensuing years, made her first appearance in Oxford as Mrs. Page, a charming performance; Mrs. Copleston, unrivalled among amateurs in her line, undertook Mrs. Quickly, and Mrs. Jameson, Mrs. Ford. Rehearsals were attended with great regularity in the halls of Trinity and New College. Feeling that for the first time the Society had to depend upon itself alone for success, seeing that *Henry IV.* was its inaugural performance, *Twelfth Night* had the additional attraction of the opening of

the new theatre, and *Alcestis* had all the fashion attending upon a Greek play, I determined to make a new departure in the shape of much more elaborate scenery than had hitherto been attempted. The dell in Windsor Forest, with three cascades of real water, shrubs, &c., and the stage broken up into rocky plateaux of different elevations, with Herne's Oak overshadowing the whole, was quite a new effect in Oxford. It naturally involved much hard work, owing to the faulty construction of the stage at the sides, where insufficient storage space is a great drawback. This has now been corrected in the newly-restored house. The first scene was admirably painted by the scenic artist, representing an old garden with a rising path through shrubs at back, a lovely backcloth with view of Windsor Castle on the hill, and an old house exterior with steps descending from the first floor, the design of which I got from an old inn of the Lancastrian period at Speldhurst, in Kent. The Frogmore scene and the interior of Ford's house were also great successes. A pair of handsome dark-blue plush curtains with O.U.D.S. in gold were presented to the Society by Scott-Montagu, and were first used on this occasion. The first night went off really without a hitch, and the piece was excellently received by a large house, including Miss Mary Anderson. This performance was the cause of the revival of the play at the Haymarket Theatre some time afterwards. Beerbohm Tree came down to the *matinée* on June 1st with a view to testing the piece for future representation, and also paid us the compliment of borrowing our prompt copy. Bouchier was very good indeed as Falstaff, and Morris's rendering of the jealous Ford was one of the best things in the play. Neither must the admirable Slender of E. F. Nugent, the Doctor Caius of E. H. Clark, and the Sir Hugh of M. F. Davies pass unnoticed. The orchestra, conducted by Lionel Monckton, an old Philothespian, rendered Sullivan's quaint incidental music excellently, besides some original music of his own.

Since 1886 it had been the avowed intention of the Society to produce *Julius Caesar*, and with a good balance in the bank it was deemed a favourable opportunity to select it for the next year. Alma Tadema's exquisite scenery was the great attraction of the play. It was all designed by him and executed by Hall. Monckton again undertook the orchestra and the incidental music. Mrs. Courtney, our first and valued lady supporter, came to the help of the Society, and played Portia, her first appearance since her Portia of *The Merchant of Venice*, while Mrs. Sim played Calpurnia with much artistic taste. Brutus was Bouchier's last performance at Oxford, and was a fitting close to the excellent work he had done there. H. B. Irving made a notable *début* as Decius.

For the first lustrum of the O.U.D.S.'s career its efforts had been confined, as I have shown, to Shakespeare and Euripides. But in 1890, just after the death of Robert Browning, it seemed to me fitting that the Society should attempt one of his works. To my letter to Dr. Bellamy, asking permission for this departure from rule, he replied that the occasion and the play justified it, but it was not to be held as a precedent. *Strafford* had not, I believe, been put on the boards since Macready's first production of it in 1837. Despite its interest as a study of character, few expected it would prove a good acting play, even in the judicious version prepared by Courtney. But it proved a striking success, and the performance by Henry Irving, jr., of New College, made it memorable, Lord Warkworth (now Earl Percy, M.P.), the Hon. Secretary, as Denzil Holles, and Harold Whitaker as Young Vane, lending him valuable support. At that time, notwithstanding his success, young Irving was resolved not to be an actor, but looked to a legal career for distinction, and if a perusal of his published works leads one to regret his abandonment of the intention, the success of his current enterprise makes full compensation. For this production also Alma Tadema kindly designed the scenery.

The Society was now secure of its position as an Oxford institution. The dangerous shoals had been successfully navigated as well as the treacherous backwater of apathy. Thenceforward all was plain sailing. *King John* followed in 1891, in which Irving, Clark, Stuart, the Hon. W. H. Goschen, and myself appeared. I again stage-managed the production, and the famous Lyceum actor-manager showed his interest by lending both the chain-armour and the tapestries used in the different acts, while the Countess of Radnor brought her "Ladies' Stringed Band" to Oxford for the whole week as our orchestra.

Although it tended to an unusually finished performance, it was, perhaps, a pity that the Society had to rely upon so many old members in 1891, for the next year showed that it possessed great vitality, when an altogether excellent cast was made for the *Frogs* of Aristophanes, under the clever leadership of Michael Furse (later Archdeacon of Johannesburg). Helbert, J. E. Talbot, and, indeed, nearly all were conspicuously successful, and the music of Dr. Hubert Parry, who conducted, has attained wide celebrity.

In 1893 I again took up the reins, when *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* was given, with Whitaker, Hon. Secretary, and Arthur Ponsonby, two admirable exponents of Valentine and Launce; and in 1894 *The Tempest*, in many ways the most elaborate of the works I was called upon to produce. A superstructure upon

the stage, which rendered the cliff scenes and the storm effects on the sea apparently far below, and the lighting of the scene from the auditorium, which accentuated the atmosphere of mystery, were the main novel features. Cunningham-Woods' music was entrancing, Talbot a fine Prospero, Ellis, full of real comedy, Trinculo; and Nigel Playfair, who made a welcome first appearance as Stephano, with Bonnin, a weird Caliban.

Space alone prevents my dwelling upon these closing performances of the decade.

In the summer of the same year I was requested by J. R. Marriott to organise a re-performance of Browning's *Stafford* as an illustration in the period of history chosen for the University Extension Lectures. I at once sought the aid of the O.U.D.S., and H. E. Snagge, who had proved one of the ablest of the many capable Secretaries, threw himself heart and soul into the project so that between us a strong cast of past and present members was collected. I essayed the title-rôle, and Clark again shone as Pym; Whitaker, Ellis, Hutchinson, and others distinguished themselves with Mrs. Sim as Lady Carlisle. The drama was played to crowded houses of students in the theatre. Just ten years from its inception the Society was thus called upon in a quasi-official manner to prove its educational value.

And so the Society, for the ensuing fifteen years, has continued its course, doubtless with the varying fortunes which attend all human ventures; but enthusiasm, a clean record, and many instances of new talent have accompanied its onward path.

On the general question of the influence of amateur theatricals upon an undergraduate's after-career, experience has shown that it exerts a most beneficial effect. It gives him courage and confidence in facing crowds; it improves his elocution and gives ease to his carriage and deportment. Old members of the O.U.D.S. who have become prominent in public life are all agreed upon this, and themselves strikingly illustrate its truth. Of the intellectual advantages, of the great impetus the O.U.D.S. has given to the study of Shakespeare at Oxford I will say nothing. It is too manifest to need insistence, and we elders who, as I have shown, brought these things after many vicissitudes to pass, only hope that the new men at Oxford may help to carry on the O.U.D.S. to new triumphs in the next quarter of a century.

ALAN MACKINNON.

THE POLAR ESKIMOS AND THE POLAR EXPEDITIONS.¹

"THE war of the North Pole" is now transferred to another sphere! Where hitherto it waged in the midst of ice and snow, it has now been transferred from the realms of frigidity to lower latitudes, and at present it is carried on in pen and ink instead of with dog-sledges and Canadian snow-shoes.

While the new war—to the accompaniment of the tick of the telegraphic apparatus—rages between two bold North Pole pioneers, the other principal persons, the Eskimo companions (who in the practical war have played exactly the contrary to the part of the statistician) stand outside the whole, and their thoughts and views are only perceived as a remote, indistinct, and somewhat curious echo from the snow-fields.

One must, however, have the greatest admiration for this little polar tribe, consisting of a little more than 200 human beings—these children of nature, these "savages," these inferior pagans, or whatever one would call them, in our prevailing terminology. Because, however few there are, and wherever one would place them in the order of rank and precedence in the history of civilisation, it is a fact that they have indelibly inscribed themselves in the history of the human species.

It is a view which one again and again encounters, that the polar Eskimos are a collection of benighted individuals who drag their sad existence away in the world's most northern recess!

Nothing is more erroneous than this train of ideas, and with a trifle of reflection one must admit to oneself that this is, not the case. Such individuals could not live and procure for themselves out of the country's productions their sustenance under 80° north latitude.

Should one draw a picture of their mode of living, it must be this—that their life and existence is as one long-continued North Pole expedition, from the cradle to the grave. If there is any place on the earth where mankind cannot exist without strength and cleverness, then it is here.

Dr. Cook, who knows children of nature from several other regions—from Alaska to Patagonia and Tierra del Fuego—does not conceal the fact that he considers the polar Eskimos and some of their arctic kinsmen to be perhaps the most intelligent of the untutored mankind.

In all that concerns their peculiar means of obtaining a liveli-

(1) Translated from the Danish by C. A. Bang.

hood, and in all the connection of life which common sense can throw light on, their intelligence is highly developed; but this, of course, does not prevent them from being primitive in other domains.

The polar Eskimos, "the neighbours of the North Pole," as Astrup called them, were found in 1818 by John Ross. In the following couple of generations they came now and then in contact with scientific expeditions—such as Kane, 1854; Hall, 1871-73; and Greely, 1881-84. It was, however, first about twenty years ago, when the Scottish whalers started to call at the coast yearly, and when Peary, in 1891, had entered his long series of expeditions, that they came under European influence, which meant something for their civilisation, because, as payment for furs and for work, they got guns and ammunition, knives, cooking-pots, and also wood, which are about the only European goods they have some use for. Now there exists scarcely a single man in the tribe who does not possess at least one magazine-rifle of the finest pattern.

There are of late years three men whose names will be for ever linked with polar Eskimos, and who, each for himself in his own way, has been a great factor in the present and future history of this little tribe.

Firstly, there is Peary—the country's uncrowned monarch, who considers himself the legitimate owner of all countries and inhabitants from Cape York and northwards. His deportment has all the conqueror's traits of character. He exhausts the polar Eskimos' working power for the benefit of his expeditions towards the Pole, and he procures an economical advantage in buying up in great quantities the tribes' costly products, fox and bear skins. One understands that he has different reasons for keeping the country as a domain for himself. His brutal repudiations of Captain Sverdrup and his interdictions to the Eskimos to put them in communication with the *Fram* Expedition is well known.

On the other side it is Peary to whom the Eskimos are indebted for their excellent guns and their continuous supply of ammunition. And although perhaps his bearing towards them has been hard and inconsiderate when it was a question of proceeding with his plans, still it has never been of such a kind that it has had a demoralising influence on the tribe. He has never given them alcohol. And I know, for instance, from Dr. Cook that Peary and his men have had the sense to take the tribe's own ideas about moral and other views of life seriously, and have not attempted with propaganda or scorn to drive away these from them without replacing them with new and better ideals.

The Eskimos' feelings towards Peary seem to be of a very mixed kind. They fear his mighty firmness and his ungoverned outbreaks of fury, but the Eskimos would not be the eternal polar explorers they are if this fear were not at the same time tempered by admiration; and doubtless also a certain reverence, if not affection, has crept into their intercourse.

Then there is Dr. Cook. Although ten years younger than Peary, he is nearly as old an arctic explorer as the latter. In 1891-92 he was with Peary's first expedition to Smith Sound, and obtained already at this time opportunity to study the polar Eskimos ethnographically and physiologically, and to learn their language. Unfortunately, Cook has never had the opportunity of publishing his own material which Peary has in his keeping, and now that opportunity will surely be excluded for ever. But it was this ethnological experience which Dr. Cook obtained at this time through his own observations of the polar tribes and their life which made his clever preparation for the polar journey sixteen years later possible.

During the homeward journey in the *Hans Egede* from Egedes Minde to Copenhagen together with Dr. Cook, I had many conversations with him about ethnographical themes and particularly his "dear" and "admired" polar Eskimos, and I conceived the greatest admiration for his intelligence and fine grasp of the moral as well as the material culture of the tribes.

On the contrary, Peary's ethnologic observations and comprehension of such studies as of practical importance for his journeys is, as it is sufficiently evident from his books, not very great.

Since 1892 Dr. Cook has amongst other things been in a South Polar Expedition, and in later years he has undertaken travels in the Alaskan high mountains for the American Government, where he has proved that the mountain-chain formation is quite different from that previously imagined; and it was also he who proved that it is not Mount Logan, but Mount McKinley, which is the highest point in North America.

We, who travelled with him during the summer in the Danish West Greenland, and returned with him across the Atlantic, are all willing to bear witness to Dr. Cook's amiability and winning personality. As Dr. George Brandes exclaimed when he had been with him, "His manners and ways are American, and, intellectually speaking, it seems that some of the best-cultured qualities of the English type are to be found in his character."

The third of the men mentioned is the Dane Knud Rasmussen. He is the youngest of the three, and only a little over thirty years of age. He was born near the largest town in North Greenland, the Danish Colony Jakobshavn, where his father at that

time was a clergyman, and at the same time pursued deep philological studies of the Eskimo language. In order to understand Knud Rasmussen and his characteristic literary activity, which is half ethnological study and half poetically-coloured description of Eskimo life, it is necessary to make it clear that besides being a Dane and in possession of the best Danish culture, he is a North Greenlander, born there and where he spent the greater part of his boyhood. To be a North Greenlander and trained in North Greenland's life and sports is, in fact, something quite different from being a South Greenlander. Had Knud Rasmussen been born in South Greenland, he perhaps would also have been an accomplished kayak paddler and a great shot, but he would not have been a masterly dog-driver who on the sledge surpasses all others in Danish Greenland. It was Knud Rasmussen who gave Mylius-Erichsen's literary expedition the idea of crossing Melville Bay to Cape York. Here at last he finds congenial companionship with a tribe in which he meets his equal peers in hardy arctic sportsmen, and since the wintering of the literary expedition with the polar Eskimos, 1903-04, he has repeatedly returned to them. His longest sojourn was from April, 1907, to the end of May, 1908. He is not regarded as a stranger, but as a dear friend, who speaks their language, sleeps in their huts, eats their meals, and can execute the same daring and hardy feats as the tribe's best men.

"Gunoti," as they call him, in consequence, commands respect, and as he is a clever and amiable man who can give advice on many subjects, it is no wonder that he holds a position in the tribe which is stronger and more respected than the cleverest and best of the "Angekoks."

In July, 1909, Gunoti returned, but this time he did not come alone on a sledge across Melville Bay as before. He came on a large vessel like the great Peary; he came with many men, and the vessel brought many things with her, amongst which were two whole houses, which, in the course of a couple of weeks, were erected on the coast of North Star Bay (76° 30' N. lat.) before the eyes of the delighted and astonished polar Eskimos.

The project for which Mylius-Erichsen, after his return to Denmark, had agitated, viz., that from the Danish initiative there should be established a mission station with the polar Eskimos, was so at last carried through by the Danish Mission Society undertaking the cause.

For the carrying out of the expedition the Royal Greenland Trading Steamer *Godthaab* was requisitioned, and Captain H. Schönby acted as navigator, who already in August, 1905, had

visited the polar Eskimos in the *Fox*,¹ to bring them the present from the Danish Government as a reward for their excellent treatment of the literary expedition.

Knud Rasmussen was representative and manager for the society. Besides the expedition, we—some scientific men—were included, who took the opportunity of boarding the steamer from the west of Greenland and of obtaining thus a glance at the world's most northern inhabited country.

There was great joy among the polar Eskimos on account of our arrival, and when they learnt that we had come to erect—in their country—that mission and trading station which they themselves had so hoped for in order to prevent their long trading journeys across Melville Bay to Uppernivik, they became very zealous to help with the unloading and house-building.

Their exceptional handiness was of great use, especially in the erection of the buildings, and our Danish artisans, whom we had brought with us, were bound to admit, to their own great astonishment, that the polar Eskimos worked better in wood than many a Danish carpenter.

The work which was directed by Captain Schönby went with life and geniality, and the polar Eskimos expressed to their good friend Knud Rasmussen their wonder at the great kindness with which the Danes treated them during their work, to which they were totally unaccustomed.

At the same time the scientists tried, partly by working with the Eskimos and partly through excursions, to move their interests in different directions.

Every morning when the ship's whistle sounded the men came travelling over the little stony ridges which separated North Star Bay from Wolstenholm Sound. Their camp was situated on the sea-shore, and on the north-easterly base of the peculiar table bluff, Umanark, after which the camp was named. A little later, when the time for eating came, the women arrived, and forming themselves in groups on the pebbly beach did their work, such as the preparing and sewing of skins, or looked on at the Danes and their husbands working. At the same time, they jabbered on ceaselessly with their small piping voices, which offered a peculiar contrast to the men's shouting and open-air blustering voices.

The polar Eskimos are of middle height and slender appearance, with small, delicate hands and feet. The hair is coal-black, and is worn by the women in a little knot at the back of the head,

(1) It will be especially interesting to English readers to learn that this steamer *Fox* was no other than McClintock's steamer used in his famous Franklin Expedition. It is now used as a coasting vessel between the Danish Colonies and Greenland.

while the men let their long curls hang down loose on their shoulders. The colour of their eyes is dark brown, and their skin is of a brown tint, but difficult to describe on account of the dirt, and owing to the effects of sun and weather; the clothes are entirely of furs: on the upper part of the body they wear against the skin a kind of birds' skin, with the feathers turned inwards; over that they wear a fur of seal, reindeer, or fox with the hair outwards. These outer furs have, besides, a hood to draw over the head.

Women as well as men wear trousers, but those for the women are shorter and of foxskin, while those for the men are of bear skin. On their feet men as well as women wear fur boots (komikker), but while those for the women reach up to the middle of the thigh, the men's only come up to below the knee. Inside the sealskin komikkers they both wear a kind of stocking made of hareskin. Each kind of skin is used for that purpose which is best adapted to its nature.

Peary had brought part of this tribe on board his vessel to Grant's Land, but there were nevertheless not a few who were collected at North Star Bay, and amongst these were several interesting and typical people, and some who have been spoken about in the descriptions of expeditions. There was Peary's previous companion, the clever and energetic Sâmik with his third wife, the young Arnaruniark, who, with her reserved, subdued, and well-governed manners and really delicate beauty, gave one more the impression of a disguised English lady of rank than of an Eskimo woman. Their little son Umak toddled on his small energetic legs around the place in his fluffy foxskin coat, and was soon quite as spoilt by the Danes as by his parents.

Then there was the fat but fairly good-looking young woman Inadthark, who, on one of the first days we were in North Star Bay, had an hysterical fit—sitting on the plain with her legs stretched straight out, unceasingly bending to and fro and singing, “. . . iah . . . iah . . . iahaha . . . iahiah . . .,” while now and then she interjected some phrases about her great delight at the Danes' coming, and that they had arrived at the same time as the “World's Great Joy” (summer).

Amongst the women the old gay Kruléh was also of peculiar interest; she was the oldest woman of the tribe, her age was guessed at between sixty-five and seventy. She herself had no idea about the number of years she had lived, and the other Eskimos said about Kruléh that she had always existed; they meant by this that there were none of them who could remember her coming into existence; on being questioned about her age she answered with circumlocution that she was so old

that she was no use for anything, and she showed her defective
 She also accentuated her age by explaining that her lice
 no longer had a nice flavour; because they demanded young

Old Kruléh was always lively and always good-tempered,
 although one would imagine that the lot of such a useless old
 Eskimo woman was not very bright; she had a married daughter
 living in the camp, but as the young couple had no room for
 her in their warm tent she had to live in a distant corner of
 the camp under some old skins which were stretched over two
 sticks, and where there was only just room for her. A few
 years ago her countrymen, who were supposed to have some
 affection for her but who believed that they had no room on
 their sledges for such a useless object as Kruléh, had given her
 some bacon and left her on a headland that she might possibly
 support life there until their return the following year. Kruléh
 herself believed that it was quite natural, and awaited with great
 serenity the future and death. However, Knud Rasmussen
 found her, and took her with him on his sledge.

A few of the more prominent men of the tribe were still
 present. There was the old Angekok or necromancer Masait-
 siak, with the peculiar pigeon breast, owing to his chest having
 been smashed by a blow of a bear's paw; he sang and beat a
 drum until his face lit up with ecstasy. He was the respected
 adviser, and was considered a clever and experienced man by the
 members of the tribe. Then there was Knud Rasmussen's
 friend and companion of several journeys, Urdloriark, with
 the amiable and winning manners, and with honest and
 gentle eyes.

Nevertheless, according to our ideas, there is a blot on these
 two otherwise attractive men—they are murderers. They had
 conjointly killed the necromancer Kajorapaluk. He was an
 evil man who, in multifarious ways, had tormented his country-
 men. Amongst other things, he misused his position as Angekok
 on every possible occasion, inspiring them with a deadly fear
 by terrible warnings of failure of the fishery and of famine.
 At last public opinion sentenced him to death, and the two
 prominent men, Masaitsiak and Urdloriark, executed him,
 and for this they enjoy the undivided gratitude of the whole
 tribe. Masaitsiak took the deceased man's wife, and lives now
 very contentedly and happily with her and she with him.

When we were lying in North Star Bay in the *Godthaab* it
 was the polar Eskimos' short summer-time. In the southern
 parts of their district the year is divided into about four equal
 seasons: There are three months of winter night; and three

months summer days, during which the sun unceasingly stays in the firmament. Between these come a kind of spring and autumn each equally of three months, and during which the sun rises and sets. Northwards the winter night and summer day becomes continuously longer and longer.

The country in which the two hundred polar Eskimos live lies on the north-western coast of Greenland from Melville Bay to Humboldt Glacier in Kane's Basin. It has a coastline of about 400 miles, which this handful of people consider as their home, and where they know every spot, every rock, and every glacier. Urdloriark sketched for me a map of Wolstenholm Sound, and did it so well and was so exact that one could nearly publish it as a result of observations. Along this coastline they do not live in any place continuously. There are certain places where, owing to comfort and situation, they prefer to erect their abodes, but they are always on the move, because no single point offers them such opportunities for hunting that they could live there the whole year round. The polar Eskimos are very well aware of the habits and movements of the animals who visit their coast or live inland. They know at every period of the year where to seek their hunting-ground, and they undertake their expeditions accordingly, which, for nine months of the year, can be accomplished on the frozen sea. This necessary wandering and nomadic lust enters so far into their life that the winter hut which a family has erected and occupied one winter, can the next be appropriated by any other person. When a Polar Eskimo has left his winter dwelling in the spring when the sun begins to shine, packed his furs and penates on his sledge, and has driven away to a far hunting-ground, it is with no special thought of returning. Before the next winter the family has lived in a snow-hut and a summer-tent in several different places, and has perhaps even wintered no less than 400 miles away from their former abode. Up here it is not the hut or the home in our sense which holds one. Should it be something, it is the good hunting-ground where one has had the luck to store great supplies of meat and fat. It is this nomadic lust which the expeditions and, above all, Peary have taken advantage of. Knud Rasmussen recounts that the first time Peary came up there and took the tribe with him they went very gladly, because they thought that he would take them to new hunting-grounds; but when they little by little discovered that he always went up along the northern continuation of Smith's Sound through the Kane Basin and the Kennedy Channel, they got tired of it, and only went under compulsion. These districts are, in point of fact, altogether unsuitable for Eskimo life and existence. Enormous glaciers

from Greenland's inland ice fill the sea with icebergs, while from the Pole comes pack and hummock ice which makes the track almost impassable for dog sledges, and the coast is barren and rocky, without reindeer and musk ox.

When Peary recounts that it is he who has educated the polar Eskimos to polar exploration it is, of course, a gross exaggeration, but, nevertheless, there is some truth in it. Like all children of nature, and especially the hunting tribes, they are very slow and unreceptive in receiving practical ideas or carrying out a theory inspired by another person. They only understand and only wish to follow their own impulses, and to act according to their own habits. From experience in Southern Greenland I know several instances of their extraordinary slowness of action, and I will mention one: The Eskimo whale and seal catchers in the northern Danish colonies had, in some way or another, discovered the idea of using a kind of centreboard under the kayak, which had proved practicable. Some Danish officials in the southern colonies tried to introduce this amongst the South Greenlanders, and thoroughly explained to them about the fixing of this simple little apparatus on the kayak, and the practical importance of the fact that one could, with much greater safety, use the rifle from the kayak. The Eskimos listened with great attention to the explanation, said "Yes" and "Amen" to everything, and admitted that it was "very good." But there was not one of them who really attempted to use the centreboard, or even make a trial of it. Then a few years passed, and a young South Greenlander, with northern blood, came by chance to North Greenland, and there learnt the practical use of the centreboard. When he returned he continued to use it, and as the other Eskimos saw that it was good and resulted in better hauls, they imitated it immediately, and the same summer all the fishermen had adopted the centreboard. This example illustrates very well the inertia of the Eskimos and their fondness for imitation, two qualities which one would think distinctly opposed each other, and it further shows how little words can effect, with regard to their understanding, an article of a comparatively indifferent value. For them there is an enormous difference between a simple statement and a fact of which they have ocular demonstration. The Eskimos hold in high esteem the principle that "word is cheap," and when the European, the great "Nalegak," or the great master, wishes to explain that the centreboard is a good innovation then the Eskimo would, of course, say "Yes"—because it could not hurt him to do so, and that would please the white man, and cause him to speak kindly.

The objective conception of truth does not exist for the Eskimo, and for his word to carry weight in testimonial evidence it is necessary for one to know all practical sides of the circumstances under which they are given. On the other hand, it would be wrong to declare the Eskimo mendacious because he understands quite differently the purport of words backed up by facts in intercourse with his own tribesmen.

The Eskimos amongst each other are very sharp and critical, and he who would impose on one of his own kindred would soon be held up to scorn and ridicule, and have opprobrious names showered upon him.

Against their inertia Peary has—with his latent force of character—been an educating power amongst the polar Eskimos, and even if this education has been brutal and inconsiderate, and given under stress of great efforts and sufferings, it is a question whether, after all, if it has not educated them, it has not caused them to deteriorate. This is something which surely both Dr. Cook and the Danish expeditions have to thank Peary for.

It is, on the contrary, not right that Peary's geographical discoveries have been the base for Dr. Cook's polar journeys. In spite of his many expeditions and travels, Peary has never mapped nearly as much as Captain Sverdrup did on his one expedition. Another thing is that Peary's negative results have been of great importance in showing where one should *not* go, and they have in this respect played some part for Dr. Cook as well as for Peary himself, who also by and by moved his starting-point westward along the north coast of Grant Land.

As Cook himself mentioned, it was the publication of Sverdrup's record that gave him the idea of his polar expedition, and showed him which route he should follow. But the Sverdrup expedition and its results give also partly the key to the answer to another important question—namely, this: How has it been possible for the mild and amiable Cook—only through persuasion—to get some Eskimos to accompany him a part of the way, and some the whole way, to the "great nail"? which to them, based on their experience with Peary, was half feared for its dangers, and looked upon as absurd and useless, because they knew that it was in itself (*per se*) a barren place with no prospects of hunting. And whatever their friendship might have been for Cook, they would scarcely have accompanied him without some very special reasons. He could not well bribe them because they did not need anything, and "they do not gather in barns." They have only use for bullets and powder.

There is perhaps scarcely any point where Dr. Cook's clever calculations and genial understanding of the Eskimos comes

more clearly to the front than here. He learnt from the Sverdrup expedition that, to the west of Ellesmere Land along that series of sounds which, towards the north, finishes in Nansen's Land, there were signs of old Eskimo huts, and there was good hunting-ground for reindeer and musk ox.

Already in 1903 G. Isachsen, who was with the *Fram* expedition, proved that there was an old Eskimo route along these sounds. And Cook knew that to propose to the Eskimos a hunt after musk ox was about the same as suggesting a Paris trip to a young lady!

In olden days the Eskimos used to travel across the narrow strait of Smith Sound to the east coast of Ellesmere Land near the peninsula of Bache in order to hunt musk ox, but they did not know how to cross the comparatively narrow ridge of land dividing the fjord of the east coast from the Bay Fjord which cuts in from the west. Dr. Cook was able to suggest this route to them and predict good results, which were afterwards completely justified. The hundred-and-one musk ox which Dr. Cook and his companions slew, from Bay Fjord to Nansen's Sound, played a greater part in the carrying out of Dr. Cook's polar journey than the simple appraisal of a mass of slaughtered meat, let us hope! and, seen with polar Eskimos' eyes, the opening of the new hunting district, which is comparatively accessible, is an achievement and a benefaction which will make an epoch in the history of the livelihood of the tribe. One can surely quite easily say that for the little polar Eskimo a year has never been so important as this present one, for they obtained large and new hunting-grounds abounding in delicious musk-ox meat, and also the Danes came and established the mission station "Nordstjernen" in the North Star Bay, amidst their country. Perhaps the year will also bring them the satisfaction that they have seen for the last time Peary—their great tormentor—who sailed along the coast and picked them up on his ship in order to use them for hard work up in the barren, cold, and polar ocean itself.

A testimony to the polar Eskimos' civilisation and its brilliant arctic adaptation are the important and interesting results of the two expeditions achieved by the two great Americans. Peary, who travelled in the most old-fashioned manner, and would bring his own civilisation with him, had to make many unsuccessful attempts, while the more far-seeing Cook, who went in apprenticeship to the neighbours of the North Pole, the poor, "savage" polar Eskimos, for him his efforts were crowned with success at the first attempt. It was in one way lucky for Cook

that he did not return from the Pole as early in last spring as he had anticipated, but that he was obliged to winter at Cape Sparbo, because when the description of this wintering, where he had no European weapon to use, is published, one will see what an excellent polar Eskimo Cook had become, and one will not be surprised that this man was able to reach the Pole. Like Schwatka in his time, Cook had based his calculations on living as an Eskimo amongst Eskimos, and he went even further than Schwatka by letting the polar Eskimos make a great part of his equipment. This meant, besides the fur clothes, all the sledges. It was only the material—the best he could procure in America—that he brought with him up to Anootok. During the winter the Eskimos then made sledges of this, and thus he made certain that his sledges were exactly similar to the polar kind, with the use of which his Eskimo helpers were fully acquainted. The objection against Cook's expedition that it was not equipped in the way that a North Pole expedition demands it should be, disappears like dew before the sun, when one sees his journey from the point of view of a polar Eskimo excursion across the Arctic Ocean.

Now that America and Europe are lionising their polar heroes, one ought not to forget the tiny little polar Eskimo nation who have played such a great part in their bold achievements. The money and honours which will be showered on Cook and Peary their polar Eskimo helpers have no use for. They love their hunting-grounds in the high North, and their only wish was that they, like their brothers in the other part of Greenland, had the same facilities for procuring the rifles and the cartridges which are so necessary for their maintenance.

Through the Danish station they have now got this facility, and the only, but quite justified, danger which threatens them is that they should extinguish their only little source of prosperity, the foxes and the bears, because, should that happen, the country becomes uninhabitable at once, and the 200 polar Eskimos must either succumb or move down amongst their twelve thousand brothers in the old Danish colony districts.

PHIL. H. P. STEENSBY.

EIGHT MONTHS OF PRESIDENT TAFT.

MARCH 4TH in Washington was a day of snow and sleet and blust and harsh, tempestuous winds. It completely ruined what is never perhaps a very imposing or a very well-managed ceremony, the inauguration of a new American President. Yet from one standpoint there was a certain humorous propriety in the fury of the elements. If it was anything but a harmonious prelude to the reign of tranquillity which Mr. Taft was expected to usher in, it was a not incongruous finale to a Presidency which even its friends admitted to have been belligerent, and which its enemies described as not less than convulsive. That Mr. Roosevelt's term of office should end in a blizzard seemed more natural than that Mr. Taft's should begin in one. From the latter America looked, first of all, for peace. I do not mean external peace—that was taken as a matter of course—but internal peace—peace between the White House and Congress, and between the President and the world of business and finance. After the excursions and alarms of the Roosevelt *régime* the people were prepared to listen to the calmer voice of reasoned persuasion. Mr. Roosevelt's sledge-hammer methods were doubtless suited to the conditions in which he found himself. The moral sense of America when he entered the White House was all but asleep, and organised wealth ruled the country. It is a fair contention that no agency less powerful than his sten-torian voice and the proddings of his "big stick" could have awakened the one or dethroned the other. His policies, moderate in themselves, seemed revolutionary only because of the heat and combativeness with which he advocated them. Much of that heat was certainly temperamental; but much also was due to a conviction that a milder and less sensational propaganda was doomed to failure. The movement Mr. Roosevelt initiated was primarily a moral, and not a social, political, or economic movement; and evangelists, as we know, are often obliged, like other folk, to beat a drum before they can collect an audience. To bring home to the minds and hearts and consciences of his fellow-countrymen the necessity of honesty in public and private life; of justice between class and class; of humanising the relations between employer and employed; of asserting the supremacy of national over private interests, of enforcing obedience to the law upon rich and poor alike, and of rescuing the natural wealth and resources of the country from improvident exploitation—this was the great task to which Mr. Roosevelt addressed himself.

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It was not a task that could be accomplished by gentle rationation. It required for its successful performance a certain force and extravagance of language which Mr. Roosevelt, for his part, was only too ready to supply. Nor was it a task that could be carried through without a considerable disturbance of settled habits and encrusted standards. The President, no doubt, made that disturbance greater than it might have been by his slashing harangues and the vehemence of his attack. But that an upheaval of some sort there had to be if the millionaire and the Boss were not to rule America indefinitely seems to me incontestable. Now that the turmoil has subsided, pretty nearly all Americans appear to agree that Mr. Roosevelt's policies were fundamentally right; that he taught both the people and the plutocracy a much-needed lesson, and that he rendered American civilisation a great and enduring service, first, in convincing the heads of the big corporations that they had more to gain by keeping within the law than by breaking it, by taking the public into their confidence than by conducting all their operations behind a veil of secrecy, and by abandoning illegal and dishonourable practices than by persevering in them; and, secondly, in creating a public opinion at once more sensitive to social and economic shortcomings and injustices, and more swift to condemn political and business methods that a decade ago were all but universally condoned.

There was a feeling, however, strongest, of course, in Wall Street, but discernible also among the mass of the people, that Mr. Roosevelt's too aggressive and spectacular tactics had served their turn, and that it was for Mr. Taft to continue the work of readjustment and reform with the minimum of disturbance to political and economic stability. The American people had no wish to see Mr. Roosevelt's policies either reversed or abandoned, but they hoped it might be possible to prosecute them with less violence and with greater regard for the nerves of the commercial world. They expected Mr. Taft to follow in his predecessor's footsteps, but more warily and with a less reverberant tread; to develop his policies, but less volcanically, with fewer outbursts, in a better temper, and with more dignity. The task was one eminently congenial both to the new President's views and to his personality, and the hope of America was that the moral upheaval which Mr. Roosevelt brought about with so much turmoil and friction might, under the mellowed direction of his successor, bear fruit in legislation that would be passed and accepted unanimously. Everything seemed to favour Mr. Taft when he stepped into the White House. Both Houses of Congress were in the control of his party; there was a universal

disposition to accept his advent to office as the beginning of an era of confidence and good feeling; and he found ready to hand the atmosphere and the state of mind most propitious for the kind of constructive work in which he excels. He has, moreover, a reflective, probing, disentangling mind; he is strong, cautious, and serene; his mountainous geniality makes innumerable friends and no enemies; he is almost startlingly unprovocative; his gift of lubricating sagacity is precisely the gift most likely to ensure harmony between the White House and Congress; and he is thoroughly experienced in the work of administration. All this, and the further fact that he himself subscribed to and had taken a large part in formulating the Roosevelt policies, pointed to his Presidency as a time of quiet, progressive, and valuable achievement. Anyone, indeed, knowing the speaker and his circumstances could have foretold the tone and substance of his Inaugural Address. It outlined a practical and unalarming programme in sober and restrained language. Mr. Taft began by endorsing the Roosevelt policies, and hinted at the measures which next month he will definitely ask Congress to pass for the purpose of clinching them. His stand on the Army and Navy in no way differed from his predecessor's. In what he said about reforming the currency and banking laws, about the Panama Canal, about ship subsidies, and about the use of injunctions in labour disputes, there was little or nothing that Mr. Roosevelt had not said before him. The main purpose of the Address was to reiterate the necessity of an immediate and effective revision of the Tariff, a problem which Mr. Roosevelt with more prudence than statesmanship had consistently passed by. It contained, however, three suggestions that were really noticeable. The first favoured a graduated inheritance tax. The second called for legislation that would enable the Federal Executive to enforce the Treaty rights of alien residents and immigrants. At present, as San Francisco has abundantly proved, those rights are at the mercy of any State or city that chooses to disregard them; and, short of civil war, there is no way in which the United States Government can impose upon any of the States in the Union a respect for Treaty obligations. In all matters relating to engagements with foreign Powers the scheme of the American polity makes the authority of the whole subordinate to the authority of the parts; and Mr. Taft's proposal to reverse a state of affairs so humiliating to the national credit, though one of obvious justice and enlightenment, is also one that carries with it considerable Constitutional implications. The third suggestion in his address which went rather beyond the normal round of Mr. Roosevelt's recommendations, bore on the

vexed problem of negro office-holders, and was so indicative of the man and his instinctive methods of approaching political questions that it deserves some further notice.

In the Southern States the great majority of the whites are Democrats, and practically all the negroes are Republicans. Mr. Taft himself a year or so ago bluntly told the Southern Republicans that they "represented little save a factional chase for Federal offices in which business men, and men of substance in the community, have no desire to enter." The political affiliations of the two races are determined solely by what happened nearly fifty years ago. The Republican Party freed the negroes and wore down on the battlefield the seceding Southern States, and were responsible for the horrors of the Reconstruction period. Hence the negroes are Republicans and the whites Democrats. The results of this meaningless rigidity of party divisions are equally harmful to the South and to the nation. In every Presidential election the Republican campaign managers have to collect negro delegates to the nominating convention, and the methods they employ are not of the most scrupulous. There are few Southern States in which any appreciable number of the negroes are allowed to vote. Nevertheless, the negro delegates bear their full part in choosing the Republican candidates for the Presidency, and represent an element in the ranks of the party which, however ignorant and corrupt, cannot be ignored. But the influence of the Southern whites on the Democratic Party is at least equally unhealthy. Democratic leaders are accustomed to speak of the South as the seat of their party's strength. It is really the source of their weakness. The Southerners are Democrats, not positively and inherently, but by the force of reflex action. They are Democrats because they are not Republicans, and they are not Republicans because they remember the 'sixties and what followed them. That is to say, their allegiance to the Democratic Party is governed by the race issue alone, and the race issue has no tangible relation whatever to the politics of the day. High-tariff Southerners and low-tariff Southerners, Southerners who are Imperialists, and Southerners who are anti-Imperialists, Southerners who stand on every side of every public question, all join the Democratic Party because that party is supposed to be sound on the race issue. A more factitious and demoralising state of things it would be impossible to conceive, and so long as it obtains, the Democrats can never be anything but a quarrelsome and impotent party, in office or out of it, and fundamentally divided among themselves. I see no real future before them until the South has readjusted its focus and has learned to look at present-day politics in the light

of present-day conditions. As things are now, the South stands apart from the national life, and preys fruitlessly upon itself.

To break the solidity of the South has long been the ambition of Republican Presidents. There was a chance at one time that Mr. Roosevelt would realise it, but the chance was thrown away when he incautiously stirred up the racial question in its most contentious form, first, by the Booker-Washington lunch with its implication of a social equality between the two races, and, secondly, by appointing to various Federal offices in the South negroes whom the whites refused to accept. Mr. Taft is determined to avoid either mistake. Since his election he has spent a good deal of his time in the South, has everywhere been received with enthusiasm, and has made many speeches in the true spirit of conciliatory statesmanship. He realises that the question of negro appointments is all-important, and that the desire which he cherishes "to bring the South closer to the central Government in thought and action and feeling" will remain nothing more than a pious aspiration unless he carries local sentiment with him in the negro office-holders he selects. In his Inaugural Address he touched on this subject with great good sense. He would not, he said, abandon the "just policy" of appointing negroes to office, but he practically pledged himself not to appoint them "in a community in which the race feeling is so widespread and acute as to interfere with the ease and facility with which the local government business can be carried on." Those are healing words. They are an official intimation that the President, though a Republican, intends to work with and not against the sentiment of Southern Democrats. So long as Mr. Taft is in the White House there will be no payments of political debts at the cost of racial animosities, and no attempt to dragoon the South into submitting to the official domination of negroes. Sympathy and co-operation are the keynotes of Mr. Taft's Southern policy, and the South, which can always be persuaded and can never be driven, will not be slow in responding to it. I venture to predict not only that more negroes will be appointed by Mr. Taft than were appointed by any of his predecessors; not only that racial friction will diminish, but that the policy and personality of the new President will impart an immense impetus to the many industrial influences that are slowly weaning the South from its Democratic allegiance, and undermining its unhappy and hampering spirit of sectionalism.

Mr. Taft is a lawyer who has developed almost by accident a great capacity for administration. President Roosevelt was an administrator by every instinct of his being, and only stopped to think of the law when he was forced to. Mr. Taft's first and

most natural impulse is to ask of any given policy, Is it Constitutional? President Roosevelt's was to ask as few questions as possible, to proceed at once to action, and to expect the Constitution to stand out of his way. Nobody knowing the temperament of the two men could doubt that Mr. Taft in the White House would strictly observe all the proprieties and formalities and restrictions that his predecessor appeared to disregard at most times, and did actually disregard at some. A little incident which occurred on the opening of Congress on March 15th confirmed the general expectation that the new Presidency implied new methods. The rules of the House of Representatives throw a power into the hands of the Speaker so prodigious as to make his influence over the actual course of legislation considerably greater than that of the President. A number of Republicans in the House were determined, if possible, to alter the rules and break the Speaker's despotism. They appealed to Mr. Taft to help them. It was an appeal I can hardly imagine Mr. Roosevelt declining to listen to. The rules, he would have argued, were bad, and ought to be amended. They allowed the Speaker—and the present Speaker, Mr. Cannon, is a hide-bound reactionary—to obstruct any measures of which he disapproved; they blocked reforms and stifled debate; and they elevated the Speakership to a position of authority in many ways superior to the Presidency itself. This, I conceive, would have been enough for Mr. Roosevelt; he would have taken off his coat and plunged gleefully into the fight. Not so Mr. Taft. He refused to take any hand whatever, either in attacking or defending the procedure of the House. It was, he said, none of his business. As President, he had no right to interfere one way or the other with the internal discipline and economy of either House of Congress. It was altogether a question for the members to settle for themselves, and he quietly smiled away every attempt to drag him into it.

The same cautious regard for the Constitutional limitations of his office was shown by the President in dealing with the Tariff Bill. The Republicans had pledged themselves to revise the Tariff, and Mr. Taft, by summoning a special session of Congress to tackle the problem, demonstrated his intention of holding them to their pledge. The pledge, to be sure, was not very explicit. The Republican platform, indeed, had strongly emphasised the necessity of maintaining Protection in sufficient strength to "equal the difference between the cost of production at home and abroad," and to afford a "reasonable profit to American industries." But within the ample margin of those judicious saving-clauses the Republican Party and the President were unquestionably committed to a reduction of the Dingley schedules, and many of their

followers in the Middle West were determined that the reduction should be effectual. On paper the Democrats were also valiant Tariff Reformers. They pledged themselves to such gradual reductions "as may be necessary to restore the Tariff to a revenue basis." They proposed to place on the free list all articles competing with Trust-controlled products and manufactures, to effect immediate reductions on "the necessities of life," and to abolish forthwith the duties on pulp, print paper, and lumber. So much for the two parties. The country generally trusted neither, and while anxious that the cost of living should be reduced, dreaded nothing so much as the business insecurity that accompanies a fiscal upheaval. It had accommodated itself to the Dingley Act, though it knew that its effect was to plunder the consumer for the benefit of the manufacturer; it regarded a reasonable Protection as the settled and unanimous policy of the nation; it had altogether emerged from the state of mind in which the Tariff was a moral issue to be wrangled over by rival schools of fiscal theologians; and it was chiefly concerned to see that the question, if it was to be dealt with at all, should be dealt with quickly and put out of sight.

What happened was what has happened before, and what will happen again so long as the Tariff remains in politics. The election pledges of both parties were cynically, shamelessly repudiated. The Republicans who had undertaken to revise the Tariff downwards revised it upwards, and the Democrats assisted them in the process. The new Bill was drafted by the House Committee of Ways and Means, the members of which, being appointed by the Speaker, himself a stalwart Protectionist, played, and were expected to play, the strict party game. They began by working through the Dingley Act schedule by schedule. Being for the most part lawyers by profession, with little practical knowledge of business, with no staff of experts to assist them, and confronted with a Tariff that affected some two thousand articles directly, and as many more indirectly, they had to trust for guidance to "public hearings." At those hearings everybody was represented except the public. The witnesses were all interested parties. Whether lobbyists working for their living, Congressmen currying favour with their constituents, or manufacturers who realised that a little judicious manipulation meant millions in cold cash, all who appeared before the Committee had something tangible to gain by influencing its decisions. No oath was administered; they were under no constraint beyond that of presenting their case as effectively as possible. And except when their proposals happened to clash with those of another "interest," when, for instance, producer and manufacturer came to logger-

heads, there was no one to question, criticise, or cross-examine even their wildest statements. The consumers, the ninety and nine, were throughout absolutely unrepresented; the organised few rode rough-shod, as usual, over the unorganised many. Sugar allied itself with steel, tobacco was leagued with lumber, wool grasped hands with petroleum. All helped themselves and one another by supporting the party that supported them. Neither in the Committee nor on the floor of the House, nor in the debates in the Senate, was there any question of national welfare, of economic principle, of public revenue. A squalid, feverish, chaotic struggle of all the "interests" in the country to get their heads into the trough was the spectacle that Congress presented, and always has presented, during a Tariff session. The politicians held the pen that wrote the new Tariff, but their hand was guided by the lobbyist and the corporation agent. As usual, every locality wanted Protection for its own special interest, and Free Trade for every other interest. As usual, there were hardly a dozen men in the whole of Congress who took the large national view. As usual, the manufacturer, on the plea of defending the workman against the "pauper wages of Europe," succeeded in getting his entire labour bill paid by the taxpayer. As usual, log-rolling, dickers, deals, and "trades" dictated the schedules. As usual, nominal reductions were found to be more than balanced by changes of classification, by the addition of an innocent-looking word or line of which no one but the expert who inserted it grasped the significance, or by some inconspicuous qualification that turned out to be worth thousands a year to the "interest" that had slipped it in. As usual, the public was fooled from the beginning to the end. I will not say that a worse Tariff was never framed, though I cannot conceive one more utterly remote from any consideration either of fiscal principle or of the general good. But I will say that no Tariff was ever framed in a worse way. The scandal, the folly, and the disgrace of it effectually woke the nation. There was no Tariff question in the United States six months ago. There is one now. It is not a question of Protection or Free Trade. It is a question of rescuing the fiscal policy of the nation from conscienceless politics and industrial cupidity.

It is not difficult to imagine what would have been Mr. Roosevelt's attitude towards the whole revolting comedy. As soon as he saw that the Republicans were disavowing all their anti-election pledges and were substituting for the Dingley Tariff a Bill that was nothing less than a fraud upon the nation, he would have raised an early and strident protest; he would have appealed to the people above the heads of their representatives; he would have

made each clause and schedule a separate battle-ground ; he might —he probably would—have provoked a serious split in the party ranks, and for the time being have impaired or even wrecked his Presidential effectiveness, but he would at least have secured a Bill that was not a hodge-podge of chicane. Mr. Taft's methods were much less sensational. The debates dragged on for nearly four months without a sign from him. He was biding his time ; but whether to veto the Bill, or to insist on its amendment, or to pass it in the form in which it would be submitted to him, nobody quite knew. It was not until the Senate and the House of Representatives had met in conference to compromise the differences between their respective measures that the President struck. He struck hard, but he struck too late. He forced upon Congress some substantial reductions in the lumber and leather schedules, placing hides on the free list and lowering the duties on sole leather, boots and shoes ; but he did not succeed, as he frankly admitted, in obtaining a measure that corresponded with the promises of the Republican platform. Seven Republican Senators from the Middle West voted against the new Bill in its final form, an incident without parallel in the history of the party ; and throughout the districts they represent there is not only a feeling of deep disgust with the barefaced methods adopted by the high Protectionist interests, but also a conviction that the President might have done more than he did do, and that his failure to redeem his pledges will lead to an electoral revolt against the Republican Party. The country generally sympathises with the difficulties of Mr. Taft's position, and with his quite intelligible reluctance to begin his Administration with a rupture between the White House and Congress ; and it is probably too much bored and confused by the endless technicalities of the whole question, and too much relieved to have it settled for the time being on any terms, to care much about the precise apportionment of praise and blame. It is far from endorsing Mr. Taft's description of the new Act as "the best ever," and it heartily hopes that no other revision of the Tariff will ever be undertaken except by an expert and impartial Commission, a Commission which the President tried hard to secure, but which Congress refused to grant him except for the limited purpose of aiding in the application of maximum and minimum rates to foreign countries. Roughly speaking, it diagnoses the issue of the struggle between Congress and the President as a drawn battle. At the crucial moment the party leaders discovered that they could not "run" Mr. Taft, and that there was a good-humoured stubbornness about him to which they had to yield. They yielded all the more readily because they had obtained seven-tenths of what they wanted. But the

experience taught them that, though Mr. Taft adopted none of his predecessor's rough coercive tactics, he was not on that account a negligible quantity. The net result is harmony and respect between the President and the party leaders; a somewhat disillusioned country; and a new Tariff Act which, while thoroughly bad, would have been considerably worse but for Mr. Taft's intervention.

I have mentioned that in his Inaugural Address the President advocated an inheritance tax. The House adopted his recommendation, and included it among the provisions of its Tariff Bill. In the Senate, however, it met with a rival in the form of a resolution in favour of an income tax. Believing an income tax to be unconstitutional, and realising the objections to imposing a Federal inheritance tax on the top of the inheritance taxes already levied by the various States, Mr. Taft in the middle of July sent a Special Message to Congress containing two momentous proposals. The first was that both Houses of Congress should agree to adopt a resolution in favour of amending the Constitution so as to legalise the imposition of a Federal income tax, a resolution that would, of course, only become effective if ratified by three-fourths of the States; and the second was that the inheritance tax should be withdrawn, and a tax of 2 per cent. upon the profits of corporations substituted for it. Both these proposals were acted upon. The Senate and the House concurred in recommending the Constitutional amendment, and a tax of 1 per cent. on the net earnings of corporations was embodied in the Tariff Act. This, though only half the rate suggested by the President, is by far the most important provision in the new Act, and its easy passage is a tribute of no small significance to Mr. Taft's personality and tactics. I doubt whether Mr. Roosevelt, with his pistolling ways, could have got it through. Recommended by him, it would have somehow worn the aspect of an attack on capital, and all the vested interests in the land would have joined in defeating it. Recommended by Mr. Taft simply as a means of providing the necessary revenue for the Government, it was adopted by Congress, not, indeed, without some opposition and not without discussion, but with infinitely less of both than one might have expected. For if it is sustained by the Supreme Court—and I take it for granted that its legality will be swiftly challenged—it will vest in the national Government quite unprecedented powers for investigating and controlling the Trusts, powers that will immensely exalt the rights of the Federal Government at the expense of the rights of the States, that will pave the way to a system of national incorporation of all the joint-stock companies that at present receive their charters from

the States, and that will profoundly affect the American theory of government. To have inaugurated so vast a revolution with so little friction is unquestionably thus far the outstanding achievement of Mr. Taft's Administration.

The new President has done other useful things as well. He has formed, for instance, a Budget Committee of the Cabinet, and he has induced the Senate to establish a Permanent Committee on Public Expenditure. Hitherto there has been no machinery for bringing appropriations into proper relation, or indeed into any relation at all, with revenue. Each Executive Department has asked for what it pleased without reference to the needs or income of the Government as a whole; and Mr. Taft's reform will save the nation several millions a year. The President, again, has stimulated a new interest in foreign commerce. He insisted on China living up to her pledge to admit American capital in the construction of the Hankow Railway; he has appointed a special commissioner to investigate the trade possibilities of the Far East; he is increasing the consular corps in those regions; and the new American Minister at Peking will doubtless prove to be a business man rather than a diplomat. In South America also it is clear that Mr. Taft is meditating a commercial campaign, with ship subsidies as its foundation. During his recent tour through the country he outlined the policies which he will submit to Congress when it reassembles in December. Currency and banking reform, the institution of postal savings banks, measures to extend and strengthen the supervision of the Government over the Trusts and railways, and the continued conservation of the national resources, all figure in his programme. There is a good prospect that this programme will very largely be carried out. Mr. Taft's prestige stands high. His popularity is undoubted, and the country is finding in him what it hoped to find—a President, that is, who will forward the Roosevelt policies with the minimum of fuss and of political and economic disturbance, but none the less doggedly and effectively. Some of the prosecutions against Trusts instituted by Mr. Roosevelt have been dropped by his successor. Some of his highly executive acts have been reversed. But there is no essential difference in the aims and spirit of the two men; the difference is one of manner and training merely; and if Wall Street is misled by Mr. Taft's moderation of speech and bearing into the belief that the days of McKinley and Hanna are about to re-visit the land, Wall Street will find itself prodigiously mistaken. Mr. Taft will talk less and in milder tones than Mr. Roosevelt, but he is likely to accomplish more, if by accomplishment is meant the translation of policies into laws.

SYDNEY BROOKS.

WHAT ARE COMETS AND METEORS?

Above us are a hundred million worlds,
 All whirling in an endless round of space;
 Mighty upheavals daily give sweet life
 To species still undreamt of here below.

EVERYONE has heard of the wonders of astronomy, but few of us have an adequate conception of the glories which lie beyond the range of the unaided eye, away in the remote regions which the telescope has disclosed. Let it be pointed towards a part of the sky where to our feeble vision all is a perfect blank, and lo! new wonders break upon the astonished gaze. And looking onward other worlds and systems of worlds come into view, and reveal forms which reflection tells us are stages in evolution from nebulae to fully developed suns, resplendent in might and majesty, the centres, maybe, of planetary systems like our own.

Out of these star-depths come the comets with sweeping glories, urging their flight towards the sun. Saluting the ruler of our domain in perihelion, they wheel round him, and speed their course again into the abyss of space; onwards and ever onwards, for a thousand years it may be, towards some other sun, through whose realms they may carry amazement or alarm, as here, leading to inquiry as to their character and purpose. Or they may chance to approach one of the larger planets, whose powerful attraction may draw them from their open (parabolic) path into a closed one. In this case they become permanent members of the Sun's family, returning to perihelion at certain intervals of time. An adventure of the kind happened ages ago to Halley's comet; when passing near to the planet Neptune it was captured and made tributary to the Sun. And the message the comets bear to us is, that everywhere throughout the universe there is movement, action and reaction, under one supreme law, the law of gravitation.

Comets and meteors, falling stars, and, indeed, the splendours of the Aurora Borealis, were at one time regarded as manifestations of divine power significant of great events, either in the physical or the moral world. The flight of a meteor across the sky during the siege of Troy was Athene descending the heights of Olympus, sent by the wily Saturn to intimate to the warring mortals that the gods were looking down upon them, and, maybe, would put an end to their strife. The great comet which appeared in the 102nd Olympiad (371 B.C.) was a herald from the gods announcing the approaching humiliation of the Lacedæ-

monians; and the earthquakes which occurred about the same time, causing two cities in Achaia—Bura and Helice—to be swallowed up by the sea, were ascribed to the potent influence of this comet.

It is remarkable that the less imaginative Romans should have conceived the beautiful idea that the comet which appeared in the year Julius Cæsar fell under the daggers of the Republicans, and shone so brightly as to be seen in the daytime, was a celestial chariot sent by the gods to convey to their realms the soul of Rome's greatest hero. The elder Pliny, however, was overcome by gloomy, awe-inspired notions about the character and mission of the comets. He thought them fearful by reason of their "blood-coloured manes and bristling hair pointing upwards." He placed them in twelve classes, and assigned to the members of each powers varying in kind according to aspect and form. His bizarre descriptions provoke a smile nowadays. But he failed to frighten Vespasian, who, though near his end, gave vent to his humour about the comet visible in the year of his death (79 A.D.), by saying to his alarmed attendants: "What of the hairy star? It does not concern me; it menaces rather the King of the Parthians, for he is hairy and I am bald." Later, turning his eyes towards the place where the comets still shone, he said, "I think I am becoming a god"—in allusion, probably, to the popular belief about the comet of 44 B.C., the *Julium Sidus*.

It is refreshing to turn to Seneca, whose bold, natural common-sense breaks through the trammels of orthodoxy. He yields to none in reverent admiration of celestial phenomena, and declares there is no mortal so apathetic, so obtuse, so bowed down to the earth, that he does not erect himself and tend with all the powers of his mind towards divine beings, particularly when some new object presents itself in the heavens. With equal vigour he combats the narrow doctrines of the Aristotelians that comets are merely earth vapours drawn to the upper air and there kindled into flame; that once their substance is consumed they ceased to exist. Seneca contends that a comet is not a sudden fire; he esteems it among the eternal works of nature, and maintains that "the comet has its own region; it completes its course, it is not extinguished, it withdraws from our range of sight. If it were a planet its path, it will be said, would be in the zodiac. But who can assign an exclusive limit to the stars, and confine and restrict these divine things? The planets themselves describe orbits different one from another. Why should there not be stars following courses of their own far removed from the planets? . . . Why should we be surprised that comets,

phenomena so seldom presented to the world, are for us not yet submitted to fixed laws, and that it is still unknown from whence they come and where remain these bodies whose return takes place only at immense intervals. . . . How many people at the present day know nothing of the heavens except their aspect, and cannot tell why the Moon is eclipsed and covered with darkness! We ourselves in this matter have but lately attained to certainty. . . . An age will come when that which is mysterious for us will have been made clear by time and the accumulated studies of centuries. For such researches the life of one man would not suffice were it wholly devoted to the examination of the heavens." He urges astronomers to make catalogues of the comets as they arrive in our parts of space, in order that they may be able to determine whether they return after certain intervals of time, as had been taught by the Chaldeans. Then, with the eyes of a Seer looking into the far-off future, he says, "Some day there will arise a man who will demonstrate in what region of the heavens the comets take their way; why they journey so far apart from the planets; what their size and nature. Posterity will wonder how things so simple had escaped notice so long."¹

Sixteen centuries had still to roll by ere the man arose who would fulfil Seneca's prophecy. But before the advent of Newton, Tycho Brahe, Kepler, and Galileo had each in turn helped to prepare the way for the geometrical investigations which would bring these seemingly erratic bodies under the dominion of natural laws.

To Tycho Brahe belongs the credit of being the first in Europe to open the way leading to the more accurate knowledge we have to-day of the comets in relation to their position in space, and on the sure ground of actual measurement with instruments he himself had made. This he was enabled to do through the munificence of Frederick II. of Denmark, who, in order to secure for his country the services of so profound a reader of the stars, built for him a palatial home and observatory on the island of Huen, at the entrance of the Baltic. Overjoyed with the grandeur of the edifice Tycho called it Uraniberg—city of the heavens. Here for a period of twenty years he occupied himself in measuring and mapping out the position of the stars and planets, and in poring over their significance in relation to mundane affairs. While thus employed, on November 13th, 1577, a comet came into view. It was twilight, and the afterglow seemed to tinge the visitor with a rosy hue; but as the shades of evening closed in its colour merged in bluish white. It was a

(1) *Questiones Naturales*, lib. VII.

beautiful object, with a train of silvery lustre sweeping over the heavens and dividing towards the end into two gracefully curved streams.

The eyes of Europe were fixed upon the apparition, and many and crude were the conjectures hazarded to account for its presence. Tycho, full of enthusiasm, brought his instruments into action in order to determine its parallax, and so get an estimate of its distance from the Earth. For his own use he employed a highly finished quadrant, while his friend and pupil, Thaddeus Hainzel, at Prague, used a sextant which Tycho had made for him. Although they were separated by six degrees of latitude, each observer found the comet occupying the same point in the sky, measured from the same fixed star. As there was no sensible diurnal parallax it followed that the comet was much more remote than the Moon, whose parallax is sensible, and can easily be determined. Repeated observations on successive nights all telling the same tale left no room for doubt. Tycho was satisfied, and with honest pride he announced his discovery, saying that he had demolished the artificial fabric of the ancients—the solid crystal spheres. The free spaces of heaven he filled with air, and gave countenance to the Pythagorean belief that the revolving worlds produced harmonious tones by their action on the surrounding ether.

From this moment the vast expanse of the heavens was thrown open to the sweeping survey of the telescope soon to be in the hands of astronomers, when for the first time in human experience would be unfolded to their gaze scenes far more entrancing than aught astrology could claim.

The discovery dealt a heavy blow to the old astronomy, which placed the Earth, fixed and immovable, in the centre of the universe, yet Tycho could not bring himself to accept the new and more enlightened view of the structure of the heavens suggested in the Revolutionibus of Copernicus. He was imbued with a deep sense of reverence for the authority of antiquity, and supported, he thought, by certain passages of Scripture, he held firmly to the old belief. Thus it came about that he represented the position and movement of the comet by placing it in an orbit just outside that of Venus. But let us not think meanly of the recluse of Uraniberg, whose thoughts brooding over the mystery and marvels of the heavens sought to unravel their secrets by the methods of the astrologer. How highly he was esteemed for his learning is shown in the Latin ode which King James addressed to him at a time which embraces the only romantic incident of his Majesty's life. James had braved the perils of the deep in order to woo and wed the Princess Anne

of Denmark in her own home. The fame of the noble Dane in the occult science soon reached his ears and touched a chord in unison with Tycho's deeply-seated love of the marvellous in nature. To this retreat as to a sanctuary came the youthful monarch to listen to the words of the sage and to ponder over the destiny the stars had decreed for him. On succeeding to the throne of England he sent Tycho a royal licence granting him permission to publish his works in this country, and with it a letter full of graceful compliment, in which he says: "Nor am I acquainted with these things on the relation of others, or from a mere perusal of your books, but I have seen them with my own eyes and heard them with my own ears in your residence at Uraniberg, during the various learned and agreeable conversations which I there held with you. Your discourses affected my mind to such a degree that even now it is difficult to decide whether I recollect them with greater pleasure or admiration."

James was barely twenty-one at the time of his eight days' sojourn with Tycho. Considering his Majesty's innate leaning towards the "Black Arts," there can be little doubt how his mind would be influenced by a mystic so far given over to the suggestions of sorcery that if he chanced to meet an old woman when walking out, or if a hare crossed his path, he would immediately turn back. But Tycho Brahe was not a solitary figure on the threshold of the opening era, dimly perceiving the dawning light, yet reluctant to advance. Kepler, whose lively imagination, controlled and directed by mathematical reasoning, evolved the three great laws which still bear his name, could never wholly free himself from the fetters of the astrologer.

Comets differ considerably one from another in form, magnitude and movement, but more particularly in density. There are some which seem to be mere nebulous clouds without central condensation; others show signs of solidity. An example of the former kind is found in the almost ethereal one known as Encke's comet, of ever shortening period; and of the latter, those of 1680 and 1843 stand out as giants in the cometary world, possessed of constitutions capable of resisting the Sun's flaming atmosphere, through the fringe of which they rushed unhurt, so far as telescopic inspection could tell. Maupertuis, always ready with a flight of fancy, tells wonderful things about the one of 1680. He says that it received from the Sun a heat two thousand times greater than that of red-hot iron, or 28,000 times the heat of midsummer. This was Sir Isaac Newton's estimate; derived from data not now wholly accepted. But the idea touched the humour of the French philosopher, and he pictured this chariot

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of fire careering through space on its outward way and approaching the Earth. Had it but switched our globe with its tail everybody would have been deluged in fire, and scalded to death—like a colony of ants in boiling water! But this brilliant light of the eighteenth century is merciful. What if it had actually struck against the Earth? A turn of the kaleidoscope and lo! gold and diamonds are showered upon us as the *débris* of the comet. And the comet-dwellers who would be cast upon the Earth, what of them? To describe their gruesome appearance might over-tax the ingenuity of that prince of story-tellers, Sir John de Mandeville.

There is yet a third kind, a remarkable specimen of which appeared in these skies in the winter evenings of 1618. It was first caught sight of in November of that year, and was attentively observed by Kepler, at Lintz, Father Scheiner, at Ingolstadt, Marsilius, in Bohemia, and also by the Jesuits at Goa. It passed through perihelion on November 8, and while thus saluting the Sun it put forth a train which extended far past the mid-heavens to a distance of 104° . The magnificent appendage was greatly admired, for it sparkled with silvery lustre through its entire length. And the head or body of the comet shone so brightly that Marsilius saw it in full daylight, and, more wonderful still, he says, that it cast a distinct shadow, as the Moon does. On the 25th the tail crossed the Earth's path, and was estimated to be fifty millions of miles long. Father Cysatus saw in the body of the comet a bright, round nucleus, shining most vividly through an immense shroud; at the same time the flickering tail seemed as if agitated by the wind, and from the head there shot forth luminous rays which instantly returned, *cum vibratione enormi*. Then, to the astonishment of all, there followed a marvellous transformation. Before the eyes of the wondering spectators the comet opened out and separated into several parts, each part shining with a diamond-like sparkle. By December 20th the whole body of the comet had resolved itself into a cluster of small bright stars, each one putting forth a tail of its own. Thus rapidly developed, and adorned with the attributes of beard and tail, they journey on together, a fine social group of young comets. Before taking final leave of these parts they enacted a brilliant *coup*. Mingling their tails together, they sent forth an immense train, bright and sparkling, which measured about sixty millions of miles. Then, as if satisfied with the performance, the troop of celestial vagrants vanished from terrestrial gaze.

Arago, commenting upon the physical aspect of the spectacle, says, "The separation of the comet of 1618 into several fragments

took place under the direct observation of Cysatus, Wendelin, and Scheiner. . . . Moreover, at an epoch when an attempt has been made to account for the great number of small planets included between Mars and Jupiter by the supposition of a single planet which had burst into pieces, the interest of astronomers ought especially to bear upon the example of a comet, that of $6\frac{3}{4}$ years (Biela's),¹ which in 1846, before our eyes, separated into two halves, and pursued entirely different paths." The drawing which accompanies Hevelius's description of the comet, though faulty in perspective, has the merit of bringing home to the reader the fact that it was made up of a cluster of small bodies.

The question of the origin of comets has occupied the attention of physicists for many years. Kant, inspired by Newton's *Principia*, saw that, mechanically considered, gravitation, acting alike on all material bodies, could be extended so as to embrace the entire sidereal system. With this idea in view he developed a nebular cosmogony which explains how suns and their planets may be evolved from clouds of nebulous matter, notable types of which exist in the nebulae of Andromeda and Orion. This conception of the origin of the universe is unfolded in his *History and Theory of the Heavens* (*Allgemeine Naturgeschichte*, 1755). The hypothesis rests upon the assumption of an original nebular condition of the solar system, and of all sunlike systems throughout space. Out of this nebular condition of matter has arisen, in virtue of the energy generated by motion, compact globular formations. Thus, with the aid of imagination, we may witness the birth, growth, and ultimately matured development of worlds, such as the one on which we dwell. To Kant is due the credit of originating the Nebular Hypothesis, which Laplace, with a firmer grasp upon the whole subject, set forth forty years later in his *Exposition du Système du Monde*.

Kant, then, derives the comets from the substance of the condensing solar nebula, and regards them as really planets which through some disturbing cause have been forced out of their normal orbits.

It is conceivable how waif-like bodies in remote regions may have been held nearly in equilibrio, until finally yielding to the preponderating action of the Sun they would descend towards him in the manner of comets.

Laplace, however, taking into account the fact that they enter the solar system at all angles with the plane of the ecliptic, points out that comets must have had a different origin from the planets. He places their home in interstellar space, and regards

(1) The history of this comet, and its peculiar behaviour while under observation in 1846, were dealt with in a paper on "The Menacing Comet," which appeared in this Review for November, 1899.

them as formed of nebulous matter left free after the shrinking in of the central nebula undergoing the process of cooling and condensation. But his reasoning applies with equal force to the solar system, and goes to support Kant's view as to the origin of *some* comets which may have been drawn towards the Sun. Let it be remembered, however, that Laplace's hypothesis comprehends the whole stellar universe, and that it is supported and sustained by the fact that comets wing their flight towards the Sun from every direction. He indicates how comets, being small nebulae drifting from world to world, from one solar system to another, must sometimes fall in the way of larger bodies, such as planets, whose weightier mass draws them into a new path, in some instances rendering them permanent members of the planetary system as periodical comets; in other cases casting them off upon a track from which they can never return. Laplace's view of the origin of comets will be simplified if we consider that under the influence of the laws of matter and motion a nebulous belt or ring would be left in space by the shrinking inwards of the central part of the great nebula (the Sun) during the process of cooling which would result from the continual radiation of heat. A cooling process is now going on in the body of our own Sun, causing it to contract or shrink in upon itself at the rate of four miles a century; so that a thousand years ago the Sun's diameter would be forty miles greater than it is now.¹ The first ring of nebulous matter thus cast off would under the influence of gravitation coalesce towards some particular centre where, not meeting with equal velocities, and in opposite directions, a motion of rotation would be generated, and thus would be brought into being in globular form the Sun's earliest offspring, which would revolve in an orbit coincident with the plane of the condensing nebula. The same process would go on until, finally, the last born member of the Sun's family would be ushered into the planetary world, and would join its companions in their circling attendance upon the parent orb.

Laplace's theory respecting the origin of cometary orbits was tested by the late Hubert A. Newton, Professor of Mathematics

(1) Dr. Mayer's plausible meteoric hypothesis of solar conservation, which for some years met with favour in England, has been abandoned for the more intelligible solar shrinkage theory of Helmholtz. Mayer attempted to account for the maintenance of the sun's light and heat by assuming that streams of meteors were continually being drawn towards and absorbed by the sun. This source was shown to be insufficient; the planetary spaces would require to be everlastingly teeming with meteoric matter in amount that would create a resisting medium which would inevitably shorten our year, by bringing the earth nearer and nearer to the sun. Helmholtz, however, demonstrated that the sun's shrinking in upon itself (thus generating heat) during the process of cooling, is at a rate equal to the demand. Calculation shows that at the present rate of contraction the sun in seven millions of years will be reduced to half the size it is now.

in Yale University. The results of his investigation, briefly stated, are as follows:—He first indicates the consequences ensuing from Kant's views, then from the more elaborate hypothesis of Laplace with regard to the form and distribution of 247 observed comets. These are represented in two graphic curves, and when the results of observation were put into the same form it was at first found that the curves thus had differed from both the theoretical ones. As, however, the great majority of comets approach nearer to the Sun than the orbit of Mars, and therefore are exposed to planetary disturbances, Professor Newton calculated the amount of these perturbations, and arrived at the result that the curve corresponding to the actual cometary paths is thus brought into good agreement with the theoretical curves deduced from Laplace's hypothesis. This result, however, does not necessarily imply that comets are waifs of nebulous matter scattered throughout space, as Laplace supposed; it simply indicates that the fact of their entering the planetary spaces at all angles with the plane of the ecliptic agrees with the theory he propounded. Their orbits agree equally well with the supposition that comets are ejects from the interior of globes in the sun-like stage.

The story the meteors tell us when interrogated by the mineralogist and the chemist is no less interesting. The magnificent display these fugitive bodies exhibited in the autumn evenings of the years 1831–2–3 arrested the attention of everyone, and drew from astronomers work of a character that marks a new era in this branch of science. Both in Europe and America observers had noticed that the mid-November meteors all broke into view at a point (Gamma) in the head of the constellation Leo—hence Leonids. From this point, however, they seem to the eye to dart off in every direction—partly an optical effect, due to the Earth's rotation. The exact position of the radiant point was accurately determined by Olmsted and Aiken, of the United States.

Professor Newton next turned his attention to literary research in the hope that he might find in old chronicles of rare events notices of star-showers, his object being to see if such showers had occurred at regular intervals, and the length of time that had elapsed between such occurrences, just as Halley had done with marked success in relation to the comet which bears his name. Professor Newton's industry along the by-paths of literature was rewarded with a list of twelve historic displays. It begins with the year 902, and ends with the year 1833. Glancing through this interesting compilation we come upon some curious accounts which carry the thoughts to the fringe of Arabian

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Night story. On the authority of Condé's history of the Arabs in Spain, we are told that on the night of October 12th, 902, when King Ibrahim-ibn-Ahmed lay dying before Cosenza, in Sicily, the heavens rained fire, and an infinite number of stars scattered themselves like rain to the right and left. On that night Ibrahim passed away from this life, and ever afterwards the year was remembered as the year of the stars. Sir Robert Ball, commenting on the story, quietly remarks, "But nobody now believes that the heavens intended by this display to commemorate the death of King Ibrahim." Maybe, belief dies hard when once the wellspring of the emotions is touched. The same phenomenon is mentioned by an Arab writer, who says, "This year there happened in Egypt an earthquake lasting from the middle of the night until morning; and so-called flaming stars struck one against another violently whilst flashing through the air eastward and westward, northward and southward, and none could bear to look towards the heavens." The significance the story has for astronomers lies in the circumstance that it is the earliest account yet found of the appearance in our skies of what is now the mid-November meteor-stream—taking into account that the arrival is one day late each epoch. It is noteworthy that Leverrier has, with a show of probability, traced back the career of this swarm of meteors into the remote past, when as a compact body it chanced in the spring of the year 126 A.D. to approach the planet Uranus and was captured. From that moment it was confined within the limits of the Sun's dominions, and never permitted to pass the boundary of its captor's orbit. How it has fared in captivity is seen in the dwindling remains of this once great comet, which in the form of meteors occasionally flash athwart the midnight sky and are gone.

A similar story is found in a Mahomedan record of the year 1202. On the last day of Muharran, corresponding to October 19th of that year, the heavens were aflame with stars flying hither and thither, eastward and westward, like a scattering swarm of locusts. The unwonted scene lasted all through the night till daybreak, and produced such consternation among the multitude that they cried out to Allah, the Most High, for deliverance from the impending chastisements. Never had the like spectacle been witnessed, except in the year of the mission of the Prophet.

From the data Professor Newton had collected he inferred that the November meteors belonged to a system of small bodies having a period of about the third of a century and moving in an elliptic orbit about the Sun, and that the particles forming it extended over a length of that orbit of about one-tenth or one-fifteenth of the whole circuit. This implies that were the Earth to

encounter the head of the stream from an opposite direction there would be poured down upon it a continuous flow of meteoric matter lasting perhaps one or two years. Happily the Earth shoulders its way across the stream, in some years making a good haul, in others, happening to pass through a thin part of the shoal, capturing comparatively few only, of what may be termed Kepler's fishes.¹ Professor Newton suggested that the actual time the meteors occupied in completing a circuit may be found by calculating the motion of the node of each one of five possible orbits, namely, 180 days, 185·4 days, 354·6 days, 376·6 days, or 33·25 years, and remarked, further, that if the values obtained be compared with the observed motions it would be possible to decide which of these five orbits is the correct one. At this stage of the inquiry the late Professor Adams, of Cambridge, he who from calculation had indicated the existence and actual position in space of an unknown world, Neptune, entered upon the investigation. He began with the orbit of 354·6 days, which Professor Newton considered to be the most probable one, but ultimately fixed upon an orbit of 33½ years, having obtained from this datum results which brought observation and theory into agreement.

Independently of what had been done by other workers in this field of research, G. V. Schiaparelli, of Milan, occupied himself with a close examination into the movements and origin of meteors. He had noticed that falling stars were numerous between August 9th and 11th, and that they always came into view at a certain point in the constellation Perseus. After much labour he came upon traces of a connection between these meteors and the comet of 1862, which had been discovered by Mr. Lewis Swift, of Denver, Colorado. A series of careful calculations led him to infer that the connection was not a mere coincidence, but a fact, capable of mathematical demonstration—that the comet and the meteors belonged to the same current matter. Pursuing his investigation he came upon another instance of a comet (Tempel's) moving in a path identical with that in which the mid-November meteors wing their flight round the Sun. Schiaparelli was now fairly embarked upon a new and important voyage among comets and meteors, leading him to discoveries destined to revolutionise our ideas concerning the part these cosmical bodies play in the scheme of the universe. Certainly this much may be conceded to Schiaparelli, that he took the lead in an enterprise which had been long thought of and prepared for by other distinguished astronomers. Assured of his facts, Schiaparelli threw out the bold suggestion that comets and

(1) Kepler, in his *New and Wonderful Discourse on the Hairy Stars*, likens them to the fishes of the sea, and thinks they may be quite as numerous.

meteors have a community of origin; that they are composed of like constituents, and, moreover, move, in some cases at least, in identical orbits. Remarking on the fact that the two well-known meteor-streams which touch the Earth's atmosphere in August and in November have each its comet, he asks, "Are we to suppose that it is the same with all others? If so, we should be forced to regard these cosmical streams as the result of the dissolution of cometary bodies. But it would be premature to extend this conclusion to all shooting stars. It is possible, as I have shown, that the whole of these bodies great and small may form systems in space bound together solely by their own attraction, and afterwards destroyed by the action of the Sun. Perhaps, also, that which we term a comet is not a single body, but a collection of very numerous and minute bodies attached to a principal nucleus." The sanction which observation could give to the mathematician's reasoning already existed in the numerous historic instances of comets separating into two or more parts whilst under the gaze of spectators. Professor Kirkwood had, five years before Schiaparelli's mathematical deductions appeared, arrived theoretically at conclusions closely resembling those which the Italian astronomer practically demonstrated, but from data unknown when Kirkwood wrote. Professor Kirkwood summarises as follows :—

1. That meteors and meteoric rings are the *débris* of ancient but now disintegrated comets, whose materials have become distributed around their orbits.
2. That the separation of Biela's comet as it approached the Sun in December, 1845, was but one in a series of similar processes, which would probably continue until the individual fragments would become invisible.
3. That certain luminous meteors have entered the solar system from the interstellar spaces.
4. That the orbits of some meteors and periodic comets have been transformed into ellipses by planetary perturbation.
5. That numerous facts, some observed in ancient and some in modern times, have been decidedly indicative of cometary disintegration.

It may be well to observe the distinction which astronomers find it convenient to draw between the various kinds of small bodies which under the general name of meteors occasionally dart across the sky, or fall upon the earth. For it is now known that the comparatively large solid bodies mentioned in the above table (3) which come to us singly are not in any way connected with comets or with streams of meteors. Besides these, there are fireballs which explode in the air with a noise that may be

heard a few miles away. But meteorites which come singly, no one knows whence, and plunge to the Earth with a velocity far exceeding that of a cannon-ball, have a history of their own full of suggestion. For were a large mass of solid matter to strike the Earth, the equilibrium of our planet might be disturbed for a moment, until it righted itself again. Meanwhile, the waters of the great deep might overspread the land. But speculation of this kind is better left for the seer and the physicist. Along the by-paths of history some curious accounts are to be met with of the descent from heaven of meteoric stones which have been treasured for countless generations as objects of worship. Among these may be mentioned the holy Kaaba of Mecca; the black stone worshipped at Emesa, in Syria; and the great stone of the pyramid of Cholula in Mexico, each of which, according to tradition, had a celestial origin. And in the astronomical annals of China is an account of the fall of an aerolite on January 14th, 616 B.C., that in its descent crushed several chariots and killed ten men. But in the well-authenticated narrative of the fall of a large meteorite at Ensisheim, on the upper Rhine, we have a story which reads more like romance than a record of a physical fact. It runs as follows:—About an hour before noon on Martinmas Eve, November 7th, 1492, a boy watching a wheatfield to keep the crows away was startled by a loud clap of thunder, and a confused sound as of a mighty rushing wind. Looking upwards, lo! there fell almost at his feet a monstrous thing glowing with a lurid light. His cry of alarm brought the villagers trooping to his side, who, overawed with dismay, for the earth had trembled with the shock, declared the prodigy to be a miracle of God. They found the stone, still smoking, plunged in the earth to half the depth of a man's stature. The king, Maximilian, on receiving information of the wonderful event, hastened to the scene, and after long and grave deliberation with the elders of the district arrived at the inevitable conclusion that it was indeed a holy stone sent from heaven; but that it passed the wit of man to fathom the secret of its mission. Thereupon his Royal Excellency ordered its removal to the neighbouring church; and here, suspended in the choir, it remained for three centuries, an object of awe and wonder for pilgrims from far and near. The stone weighed 260 lbs.; and, strange to tell, a fragment of this heaven-sent relic is preserved to this day in the British Museum, where over 300 other specimens may be seen of these visitors from far-off worlds—ejected in all probability from their interior.

Several times since 1872, when the phenomenon was first noticed, our Sun has been caught in the act of expelling matter from his interior with a force which in some cases gave to the

ejected substance a velocity of more than 380 miles a second; consequently it could not return to him. The giant planets, too, when in the violent throes of the sunlike stage, through which every large mass of revolving matter must pass, would behave in a similar manner, and in these ejects we have perhaps a more probable origin of comets and meteors than Laplace indicates.

Close observation of recent years has established the truth of the conjecture that periodical comets are gradually undergoing a process of disintegration, and that this is produced by the Sun, whose fierce rays have a divellent or sundering effect upon all bodies in his immediate vicinity. This solar action will go on until the object is reduced to the primitive form of meteoric dust, just as the constant beating of the waves of the sea bring down the solid rock to the sands of the shore. Physical astronomy points out that suns, planets, comets and nebulae, all are the outcome of the aggregation in space of stony and metallic fragments, some specimens of which the Earth yearly intercepts and captures in its orbital course, and delivers over to the inquisitive scrutiny of the mineralogist and chemist. In the hands of the astronomer the spectroscope shows the character and constitution of these cosmical bodies. It brings out a number of characteristics existing in common between stellar and nebular rays, by causing vaporised meteoric particles to glow by electricity. It assures us that all self-luminous bodies in space are composed of meteorites, variously aggregated and in various stages of temperature, dependent upon the frequency and violence of their mutual collisions. Comets, nebulae, gaseous stars, stars showing banded spectra of the third type, are variable meteor-swarms; that is to say, are made up of an indefinite multitude of small, independent, solid bodies, bathed in evolved gases, and glowing with the heat due to their arrested motions. Their component meteors eventually become completely vaporised, when stars of the solar and sirian types are produced. The story told by the spectroscope goes further, and says that, not only is there the same matter everywhere, but all celestial bodies, including the Earth, are due to an exquisitely simple evolution of matter in the form of meteoric dust. It unfolds to our view the great truth that all nature is one, physically and chemically.

Comets are messengers indeed, but of higher import than formerly. Coming from out the depths of space and penetrating to the heart of our system they establish a connection between the planet on which we dwell and all other worlds throughout the stellar universe, of which our Sun is an integral molecule near the centre of the Milky Way.

ED. VINCENT HEWARD.

TWO HISTORIANS OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

ADMIRERS of Lord Macaulay will never cease to deplore the untimely death which prevented him from completing more than a fragment of the task which he kept in view. He purposed, as everyone knows, to write the history of England from the accession of James the Second down to the close of the eighteenth century; he actually described the events of some sixteen years, stopping short at the death of his hero, William the Third. There perished with him that monopoly of detailed knowledge which must have made his history of the eighteenth century a κτῆμα ἐς αἰεί. The story of those hundred years, as written by Macaulay, would have formed a veritable galaxy of literary jewels:—brilliant descriptive passages on the social life of the time; panoramas of the great wars with France and Spain; life-size portraits of the statesmen who flocked around Queen Anne and her successors—Oxford, Bolingbroke, Walpole, Pulteney, Carteret, Fox, Bute, Rockingham, North, the Pelhams, the Pitts—he knew them all, and all would have stood out from his canvas with an imperishable lustre. In picturesque detail he would have recounted “how imprudence and obstinacy broke the ties which bound the North American Colonies to the parent State,” and “how Ireland, cursed by the domination of race over race, and of religion over religion, remained indeed a member of the Empire, but a withered and distorted member, adding no strength to the body politic.”

Eis aliter visum. But for once the gods have been prompt in making what reparation they could. The shield of the mighty has not been vilely cast away. The same generation which grew up to mourn its loss, and to gaze appalled on the ever-growing pile of memoirs and correspondence relating to the eighteenth century, has seen this vast mass of raw material patiently digested and faithfully reproduced by another heaven-born historian. It was reserved for Mr. Lecky to take up the work at the point where Macaulay dropped it, and to carry it down to the goal at which he had aimed. History has not been disappointed in her second trustee. It is safe to say that no one can rise from the study of his volumes without a profound sense of admiration and of humility. To his great natural gifts of taste, of energy, of lofty eloquence, of a retentive memory, and of a judicial temperament, he brought qualities of a still higher type. Patience, assiduity, truthfulness, self-restraint, lucidity, penetration, all were his;

and these he crowned with that indefinable attribute which we have learnt to call "animated moderation." For in Lecky's works we have the writings of a "man of genius who is also a great man of the world"; writings that "are never slow, are never excessive, are never exaggerated." Further, they are "always instinct with judgment, and yet that judgment is never a dull judgment"; they have "as much spirit in them as would go to make a wild writer, and yet every line in them is the product of a sane and sound writer." In this tribute to Sir Walter Scott, Bagehot would seem to have anticipated all critical admirers of Lecky.

Lecky has succeeded Macaulay, and the ghost of the eighteenth century has been laid. We have in his pages a noble monument to the England of that day. We have luminous portraits of her distinguished men in every department of human affairs, all painted with the unerring touch of a born artist. We have admirable descriptions of all ranks of society, of contemporary manners, morals, art, literature, music, of the religious influences of the age, of the growth of the Press, of economic changes, of industrial revolution. Above all, we have perfect confidence that truth is never strained for effect nor coloured from prejudice; with strict impartiality the great historian has performed his task so as to leave no mere prize composition to be heard and forgotten, but an heirloom for posterity.

We read Lecky to the end; we are conscious of intellectual expansion; our interests are widened, our sympathies quickened; we rise fuller men. And yet something is wanting to our pleasure. Almost with a qualm of home-sickness we fly to Macaulay's essays on Chatham and Walpole. We turn the well-known pages and find the charm still potent to subdue us. In his happy choice of word, of a phrase, of an illustration, in his swift dramatic touches, in his apt comparisons, in his vivid pictorial effects, Macaulay has won an unchallenged supremacy. No writer has marshalled his facts with more scrupulous accuracy, yet none has attained to his skill in presenting each fresh development to the reader just when its appearance may be rendered most effective. It is a pity Macaulay never turned playwright. He had all the instinct of a great dramatist for revealing character and unfolding a plot. In writing history he is ever on the alert for surprises; he lures the reader on, working up a situation where another historian is content to dole out facts. Take, for instance, his account of Pitt's speech against the Peace of Paris:—

Meanwhile, the Parliament met. The Ministers, more hated by the people than ever, were secure of a majority, and they had also reason to hope that they would have the advantage in the debates as well as in the

divisions; for Pitt was confined to his chamber by a severe attack of gout. His friends moved to defer the consideration of the treaty till he should be able to attend; but the motion was rejected. The great day arrived. The discussion had lasted some time, when a loud huzza was heard in Palace Yard. The noise came nearer and nearer, up the stairs, through the lobby. The door opened, and from the midst of a shouting multitude came forth Pitt, borne in the arms of his attendants. His face was thin and ghastly, his limbs swathed in flannel, his crutch in his hand. The bearers set him down within the bar. His friends instantly surrounded him, and with their help he crawled to his seat near the table. In this condition he spoke three hours and a half against the peace. During that time he was repeatedly forced to sit down and to use cordials. It may well be supposed that his voice was faint, that his action was languid, and that his speech, though occasionally brilliant and impressive, was feeble when compared with his best oratorical performances. But those who remembered what he had done, and who saw what he had suffered, listened to him with emotions stronger than any that mere eloquence can produce. He was unable to stay for the division, and was carried away from the House amidst shouts as loud as those which had announced his arrival.

No reader can henceforth be pardoned for forgetting this episode in Chatham's career, any more than he can reasonably be blamed for just such an omission after reading Lecky's third volume, where the incident is described as follows :—

The Preliminaries were approved in the House of Lords without a division, in the House of Commons by 319 to 65. The Duke of Newcastle, seeing opposition to be hopeless, induced his friends to retire before the division. Pitt spoke against the terms for three and a half hours; but he was so broken by painful illness that he was obliged to speak sitting, and although his speech contained passages of great beauty and power, his voice often sank into an inaudible murmur.

Or compare the two accounts of Bute's resignation. Macaulay writes :—

It was clear that there must be some change in the composition of the Ministry. But scarcely any, even of those who, from their situation, might be supposed to be in all the secrets of the Government, anticipated what really took place. To the amazement of the Parliament and the nation, it was suddenly announced that Bute had resigned.

Twenty different explanations of this strange step were suggested. . . .

Lecky, inverting this order, robs the incident of all dramatic interest. After discussing Bute's difficulties he goes on to say, quite baldly :—

These were probably the real reasons of his resignation, which took place, somewhat unexpectedly, on April 8th, 1763.

One more instance will suffice :—

Grenville, on his return from an excursion into the country, repaired to Buckingham House. He was astonished to find at the entrance a chair, the shape of which was well known to him, and, indeed, to all London. It was distinguished by a large boot, made for the purpose of accommodating the great Commoner's gouty leg. Grenville guessed the whole. His brother-in-law was closeted with the King.

Can we not picture the absurd incident, and enjoy a laugh at Grenville's chagrin? Lecky dismisses it briefly, as follows :—

The King and Bute at once renewed their designs, and on the return of Grenville from a brief excursion in the country he found the King closeted with Pitt.

Had Macaulay tried his hand at writing for the stage, in all likelihood he would have proved to be not merely a skilful composer of problematical situations and kaleidoscopic changes of front, but a master of the art of dialogue. Every page of his writings betrays the brilliant raconteur. Indeed, he appears to be talking most of the time, and, as a good talker should, he contrives to "turn up a large surface of life rather than dig mines into geological strata." His essays abound in flashes of wit, embedded in a brisk racy style which holds boredom at arm's length; he has "a fact, a thought, or an illustration, pat to every subject." Here are a few random excerpts from the second essay on Chatham :—

Pitt could see nothing but the trophies; Grenville could see nothing but the Bill.

In truth, those who knew his [Temple's] habits tracked him as men track mole. It was his nature to grub underground. Whenever a heap of dirt was flung up it might well be suspected that he was at work in some foul, crooked labyrinth below.

Weymouth had early impaired a fine estate with the dice-box, and a fine constitution with the bottle.

To the honour of the Scots, be it said, that their prudence and their pride restrained them from retaliation. Like the princess in the Arabian tale, they stopped their ears tight, and, unmoved by the shrillest notes of fiddle, walked on, without once looking round, straight towards the Golden Mountain.

These are the unconsidered trifles of historical writing, but they cheer the flight of pages; readers are grateful for permission to stand at ease. There is, of course, a danger of colloquialism becoming slipshod, and from slipshod to vulgar is no far step. It cannot be denied that Macaulay runs at times dangerously near to bad taste, and several passages might be quoted from this same essay which stand in need of some revision.

Pitt was not invited to become a placeman; and he therefore stuck firmly to his old trade of patriot.

In this perplexity, Newcastle sent for Pitt, hugged him, patted him, smirked at him, wept over him, and lisped out the highest compliments and the most splendid promises. The King, who had hitherto been as silky as possible, would be civil to him at the levee.

Half the inhabitants of the Grub Street garrets paid their milk scores, and set their shirts out of pawn, by abusing Pitt. His German war, his subsidies, his pension, his wife's peerage, were skin of beef and gin, blankets and baskets of small coal, to the starving poetasters of the Fleet.

This is not fine writing at any time; compared with the chaste dignity of Lecky's prose it seems unworthy of an eminent his-

torian. But the talker is more prone to fall into errors of taste than the lecturer, while he may redeem such defects by happier touches than the other will attempt. Blemishes of this kind detract, no doubt, from the pleasing effect of Macaulay's work as a whole, but they are more than balanced by his peculiar merits, and convey no serious reproach.

What can and must be urged against his method of writing history is its signal deficiency of generalised views. Pictorial and dramatic representation of the past is admirable so far as it goes, but cannot in itself be said to comprise the sum total of historical requirements. "Group your facts round your points," we remember being told at school; Macaulay's pages teem with facts, but they suggest to him no comprehensive theory; he has no particular points to emphasise, so he unfolds fact after fact, trusting to the fascination of his style to engage the reader's attention. His books leave us with just such an agreeable recollection as we have of last night's sunset: a panorama of rare and impressive beauty, isolated fragments of extraordinary grandeur, and for the rest a confused sense of artistic pleasure in a rapid succession of fantastic effects produced by subtle arrangements of light.

The genius of Lecky, on the other hand, burns with a calm equable glow. He never attempts to dazzle us with pictorial description; he never strives after epigram, or seizes on the dramatic aspects of a situation; still less, may we add, does he ever lapse into faulty taste. Edward Fitzgerald once, with a fine felicity, declared taste to be the feminine of genius; the masculine element stands in need of some controlling influence. The fastidious purity of taste which distinguished Lecky supplies the key to that "animated moderation" which stamps him as a pre-eminent historian. He wrote with a complete mastery over his pen, moving easily and familiarly on the heights of truth, with affectation, prejudice, and vulgarity far beneath him in the valley. He holds a brief for no party, for no statesman, for no creed. His attitude is eminently judicial, summing up both sides of a case with patient impartiality, and leaving the verdict to the jury of readers. Perhaps the chief lesson to be drawn from his history is the one which modern teaching tends more and more to emphasise—the fact, namely, that in the majority of vexed questions there can be no final decision at all. Who, for example, after reading his third chapter, will pronounce Walpole to have been a "good" minister or a "bad" minister? Who will eulogise Chatham as a model of patriotic self-sacrifice and turn away satisfied? Students of English history will henceforth be on the alert to detect currents beneath the surface, to

gauge the complexity of motive underlying action, to recognise the composite nature of the forces whose interfusion generates human character.

Unsurpassed as Lecky has been in this judicial quality, he cannot be said to enjoy a monopoly of the spirit which imparts to "modern" history its distinguishing colour and abiding value. All his own, however, are the critical digressions which are continually suggested to him as he proceeds. His analyses of the uses of an aristocracy, of the efficacy of legislation to civilise a people, of the difficulty of combining in fixed governments ability and security, of the political writings of Edmund Burke, illumine with a sudden gleam the contexts in which they are embedded. On these sublime heights of history he has fixed his chosen seat; it is here we view him at ease, enthroned in the heart of fastnesses whither no writer can follow. For the reader, on the contrary, he breaks down all barriers; the track appears more tempting as it is pursued. Nothing is more characteristic of Lecky than his mastery of diction; no path is so intricate but its windings are baffled by his flexible, luminous, penetrating style. An expert valuer of words, he compresses his thought into the smallest compass, without any corresponding sacrifice of lucidity. Indeed, the more abstract his theme becomes, the more transparent grows his meaning. At the same time his fiction gains in majesty and power. The higher demands of his subject are answered, as it were, spontaneously and with mechanical precision by higher flights of eloquence, evolved by a natural process. In vulgar parlance, he rises to the occasion. Macaulay, of course, rises to the occasion, no man more; but with Macaulay the objective is everything, subjectivity he ignores. Lecky never has rivalled the majestic imagery of that well-known passage on the Church of Rome:—

She was great and respected before the Saxon had set foot on Britain, before the Frank had passed the Rhine, when Grecian eloquence still flourished at Antioch, when idols were still worshipped in the temple of Idoloca.

For gratifying "the pride of the eye," nothing could be more successful, but Macaulay has never laid siege to the reason of his audience. This particular essay on the vicissitudes of the Roman Church creeps with fallacies to which modern criticism has given an elaborate exposure. We cannot imagine him discussing the functions of Parliament in an analysis which will be a *locus classicus* as long as Parliamentary government exists. He would excuse himself perhaps on the ground that any such proceeding might drive his young ladies back to their novels.

Unhappily, Lecky's masterpieces are ruined by random quotations.

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tion; the whole is greater than its part. It may be doubted, however, if Macaulay ever painted a more exquisite vignette than the following introduction to the ministry of Grenville.

The real and essential distinction between the two parties at this period of their history lay in the different degrees of authority they were prepared to concede to the Sovereign. According to the Whigs, a connected group of political leaders acting in concert and commanding a majority in both Houses of Parliament, ought virtually to dictate and direct the government of the country. According to the opposite party, the supreme directing power should reside with the Sovereign, and no political organisation should be suffered to impose its will upon the Crown. According to the Whigs, the system of government which prevailed in the last years of George II., whatever might have been the defects of particular statesmen or of particular measures, was, on the whole, the normal and legitimate outcome of parliamentary government. According to the Tories, it was essentially an usurpation, and it should be the great object of a loyal Minister to prevent the possibility of its recurrence. Both parties recognised the necessity of establishing some strong and permanent system of government, but the one party sought it in the connection of agreeing politicians, commanding parliamentary influence; the other party sought it in the creation of a powerful parliamentary interest attached personally to the Sovereign, reinforced by disconnected politicians, and by small groups drawn from the most various quarters, and directed by a statesman who was personally pleasing to the King. . . . Grenville avowedly came into office to secure the King from falling into the hands of the Whig organisation and losing the power of political guidance.

The above is but one of a hundred such critical discussions which are strewn broadcast over Lecky's volumes. It is seldom that Macaulay deviates from the broad highway of narrative to examine even such pregnant issues as the relative attitude of parties, but it so happens that at the outset of the second essay on Chatham he does pause to offer an explanation of the chief phenomenon of that period. His way of accounting for the apparent transformation of parties is plausible and attractive; it is illustrated by a picturesque comparison from Dante; it has charmed and convinced thousands of readers. On a sudden Lecky arose and slew it, and now we wonder how anyone could have been deceived by a theory so superficial.

What, then, is the conclusion? Are we to banish Macaulay to the nursery, or to read him partly as a warning, partly as a curiosity—to vote him hopelessly out of date, or to clamour for revised editions? He smiles from the shades. Well he knows, when the voices of the sound and scientific, of the critical and synthetic, have died away, we will sigh for his inimitable portraits, for his superb imagery, for his picturesque tableaux, for his engaging faults.

HENRY D. ROOME.

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THE END.

By STIJN STREUVELS.

Translated from the West-Flemish by ALEXANDER TEIXEIRA DE MATTOS.

ZEEN¹ pulled up his bent back, wiped the sweat from his forehead with his bare arm and drew a short breath.

Zalia,² with her head near the ground, went on binding her sheaves.

The sun was scorching.

After a while, Zeen took up his sickle again and went on cutting down the corn; with short, even strokes, with a swing of his arm, the sickle rose and, with a "d-zin-n-n," fell at the foot of the corn-stalks and brought them down in great armfuls. Then they were hooked away and dragged back in little even heaps, ready to be bound up.

It did not last long; he stopped again, looked round over all that power of corn which still had to be cut and beyond, over that swarming plain, which lay blistering, so hugely far, under that merciless sun. He saw Zalia look aslant because he did not go on working; and, to account for his resting, he drew his whetstone from his trousers-pocket and began slowly to sharpen the sickle:

"Zalia, it's so hot. . . ."

"Yes, it is," said Zalia.

He worked on again, but slowly, very slackly.

The sweat ran in great drops down his body; and sometimes he felt as if he would tumble head foremost into the corn. Zalia heard his breath come short and fast; she looked at him and asked what was the matter. His arms dropped feebly to his sides; and the hook and sickle fell from his hands.

"Zalia, I don't know . . . but something's catching my breath like and my eyes are dim. . . ."

"It's the heat, Zeen; it'll wear off. Take a pull."

She fetched the bottle of gin from the grass edge of the field, poured a sip down his throat and stood looking to see how it worked.

"Well?"

Zeen did not answer, but stood there shivering and staring, with his eyes fixed on a blue-bonnet in the cut corn.

"Come, come, Zeen, get it done! Have just another try; it'll get cooler directly and we'll be finished before dark."

"Oh, Zalia, it's so awfully hot here and it'll be so long before it's evening."

(1) Eugene.

(2) Rosalie.

"But, Zeen, what do you feel?"

Zeen made no movement.

"Are you ill?"

"Yes, I am, Zalia. No, not ill, but I feel so queer and I think I ought to go home."

Zalia did not know what to do; she was frightened and did not understand his funny talk:

"If you're ill . . . if you can't go on, you'd better get home quick; you're standing there like a booby."

Zeen left his sickle on the ground and went straight off the field. She saw him go slowly, the poor old soul, lurching like a drunken man, and disappear behind the trees. Then she took her straw-band and bundled up all the little heaps of corn, one after the other, and bound them into sheaves. She next took the sickle and the hook and just went cutting away like a man, stubbornly, steadily, with a frenzied determination to get it done. The more the corn fell, the quicker she made the sickle whizz.

The sweat ran down her face; now and then she jogged back the straw hat from over her eyes, to see how much was left standing, and then went on cutting, on and on. She panted in the doing of it. . . . She was there alone on that outstretched field, in that heat, which weighed upon her like a heavy load; it was stifling. She heard no sound besides the swish of her steel and the rustling of the falling corn.

When at last she could go on no longer, she took a sip at the bottle and got new strength.

The sun was low in the sky when she stood there alone on the smooth field, with all the corn flat at her feet. Then she started binding.

The air grew cooler. When the last sheaf was fastened in its straw-band and they now stood set up in heavy stooks, like black giants in straight rows, it began to grow dark. She wiped the sweat from her face, slipped on her blue striped jacket, put the bottle in her hat, took the sickle and hook on her shoulder and, before going, stood for a while looking at her work. She could now see so very far across that close-shorn plain; she stood there so alone, so tall in that stubble-field, everything lay so flat, and, far away yonder, the trees stood black and that mill and the fellow walking there: all as though drawn with ink on the sky. It seemed to her as if the summer were now past and that heavy sultriness a last cramped sigh before the coming of the short days and the cold. She went home. . . . Zeen was ill and it was so strange to her to be going back without him. It was all so dreary, so dim and deadly, so awful. Along the edge of the deep sunk path, the grasshoppers chirped, here and there, all round her, an endless chirping on every side, all over the grass and the field; and it went like a gentle woof of voices softly singing. This singing at last began to chatter in her ears and it became a whining rustle, a deafening tumult and

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a painful laughter. From behind that pollard, her cat jumped the path; it had come to the field to meet her and, purring comfortably, it put up its back and loitered between Zalia's legs until she stroked it; then it ran home before her with great bounds. The goat, hearing steps approach, put its head over the stable-door and began to bleat.

The house-door was open; as she went in, Zalia saw not a thing before her eyes, but she heard something creaking on the floor. It was Zeen scrambling up as he heard her come in.

"Zeen!" she cried.

"Yes," moaned Zeen.

"How are you? . . . No better yet? Where are you? Why are you lying flat on the floor like this?"

"Zalia, I'm so ill . . . my stomach and . . ."

"You've never been ill yet, Zeen! It won't be anything this time."

"I'm ill now, Zalia."

"Wait, I'll get a light. Why aren't you in bed?"

"In bed, in bed . . . then it'll be for good, Zalia; I'm afraid of my bed."

She felt along the ceiling for the lamp, then in the corner of the hearth for the tinder-box; she struck fire and lit up.

Zeen looked pale, yellow, death-like. Zalia was startled at it, but, to comfort him:

"It'll be nothing, Zeen," she said. "I'll give you a little Haarlem oil."

She pulled him on to a chair, fetched the little bottle, put a few drops into a bowl of milk and poured it down his throat:

"Is it doing you good?"

And Zeen, to say something, said:

"Yes, it is, Zalia, but I'd like to go to sleep. I'm feeling cold now and I've needles sticking in my side . . . here, see?"

And he pressed against it with both his hands.

"Yes, you're better in bed; it'll be gone in the morning and we'll fetch in the corn."

"Is it cut?"

"All done and stooked; if it keeps fine to-morrow, we'll get it all into the barn."

Zalia lifted him under his armpits and they crawled on like that into the other room, where the loom stood, with the bed behind it. She helped him take off his jacket and trousers and put him to bed, tucked him nicely under the blanket and put his night-cap on his head.

Then she went and lit the fire in the hearth, hung up the pot with the goat's food, washed the potatoes and sat down to peel them for supper.

She had not peeled three, when she heard Zeen bringing up:

"That's the oil, it'll do him good," she thought and, fetching a can of water from outside, gave him a basin to drink.

THE END.

"But."

Zeen she went back to her peeling. A bit later, she sat thinking of other remedies—lime-flowers, sunflower seeds, pearl barley, flowers of sulphur—when suddenly she saw Mite¹ Kornelje go by. She ran out and called:

"Mite!"

"What is it, Zalia?"

"Mite, Zeen is ill."

"What, ill? All at once?"

"Yes, all of a sudden, cutting the corn in the field."

"Is he bad?"

"I don't know. I've given him some Haarlem oil; he's been sick; he's complaining of a pain in his side and his stomach; he's very pale: you wouldn't know him."

They went in. Zalia took the lamp and both passed in, between the loom and the wall by Zeen's bed.

He lay staring at the ceiling and catching at his breath. Mite stood looking at him:

"You must give him some English salt,² Zalia."

"Why, Mite, I never thought of that; yes, he must have some English salt."

And she climbed on to a chair and took a dusty calabash from the plank above the bed, full of little paper bags and packets.

She opened them one by one and found canary-seed, blacklead, washing-blue, powdered cloves, cinnamon, sugar-candy, burnt-ash . . . but no English salt.

"I'll run home and fetch some, Zalia."

"Yes, Mite, do."

And Mite went off.

"Well, Zeen, no better yet?"

Zeen did not answer. She took a pail of water and a cloth and cleaned away the mess from beside the bed and then went back to peel her potatoes.

Mite came back with the English salt. Treze³ Wizeur and Stanse⁴ Zegers, who had heard the news, also came to see how Zeen was doing. Mite stirred a handful of the salt in a basin of water and they all four went to the sick man's bed. Zeen swallowed the draught without blinking. Mite knew of other remedies, Stanse knew of some too and Treze of many more; they asked Zeen questions and babbled to him, made him put out his tongue and felt his pulse, cried out at his gasping for breath and his pale colour and his inflamed eyes and his burning fever. Zeen did not stir and lay there, looking at the ceiling. When he was tired of the noise, he said:

"Leave me alone."

And he turned his face to the wall.

Then they all went back to the kitchen. The goat's food was done. Zalia hung the kettle with water on the hook and made

(1) Marie.

(2) Epsom salts.

(3) Theresa.

(4) Constance.

THE END.

coffee; and the four women sat round the table telling stories of illness. In the other room there was no sound.

A bit later, Mite's little girl came to see where mother was this time. She was given a little sugar and sat down by her mother.

"Zalia, have you only one lamp?" asked Treze.

"That's all, Treze, but I have the candle."

"What candle?"

"The blessed candle."

"We've not come to that yet: it's only that Zeen has to lie in the dark like that and we have to go to and fro with the lamp to look at him."

"Zeen would rather lie in the dark."

"I'll tell you what: Fietje¹ shall run home and fetch something, won't you, Fietje? And say that mother is going to stay here, because Zeen is dying."

Fietje went off. The coffee was ready; and, when they had gulped down their first bowl, they went to have another look in the room where the sick man lay.

Zeen was worse.

"We must sit up with him," said Stanse.

"For sure," said Treze. "I'll go and tell my man; I'll be back at once."

"Tell Free² as you're passing that I'm staying here too," said Stanse.

"We must eat, for all that," said Zalia and she hung the potatoes over the fire.

Then she went to milk the goat and take it its food. It was bright as day outside and quiet, so very quiet, with still some of the heat of the sun lingering in the air, which weighed sultrily. She crept into the dark goat-house, put down the pot with the food and started milking.

"Betje,³ Betje, Zeen is so ill; perhaps Zeen's dying, Betje."

She always clacked to her goat like that. Two streams of milk came clattering in turns into the little pail.

People came: Treze and Mite's little girl, with a lantern, and Barbara Dekkers, who had also come to have a look.

"I'm here," said Zalia, "I've done, I'm coming at once."

They stood talking a bit outside in the moonlight and then went in.

"It may be that my man'll come on," said Treze. "A man is better than three women in illness; and Virginie's coming too: I've been to tell her."

"Well, well," said Barbara, "who'd ever have thought it of Zeen!"

"Yes, friends, and never been ill yet: and he turned seventy."

Stanse mashed the potatoes; Zalia poured a drain of milk over them and hung them over the fire again.

(1) Sophie.

(2) Frederick.

(3) Betty.

THE END.

"But."

Zeeve you all had your suppers?" she asked.

"Yes," said Treze and Barbara and Mite.

"I haven't," said Stanse.

Zalia turned the steaming potato-mash into an earthen porringer and she and Stanse sat down to it. The others drank a fresh bowl of coffee.

They were silent.

The door opened and from behind the screen came a great big fellow with a black beard:

"What's up here? A whole gathering of people: is it harvest-treat to-night, Zalia? Why, here's Barbara and Mite and . . ."

"Warten,¹ Zeen is ill."

"Zeen, ill?"

"Yes, ill, man, and we're sitting up."

Warten opened wide eyes, flung the little box which he carried on a leather strap over his shoulder to the ground and sat down on it:

"Ha! So Zeen's ill . . . he's not one of the youngest, either."

"Seventy-five."

They were silent. The womenfolk drank their coffee. Warten fetched out a pipe and tobacco from under his blue smock and sat looking at the rings of smoke that wound up to the ceiling:

"Well, perhaps I come at the right time, if that's so."

"You can help sit up."

"Have you had your supper, Warten?"

"Yes, Zalia, at the farm."

"And how's trade?" asked Stanse.

"Quietly, old girl."

They heard a moaning in the other room. Barbara lit the lantern and all went to look. Warten stayed behind, smoking.

Zeen lay there, on a poor little wretched bed, near the ground, behind the loom, huddled deep in his bolster, under a dirty blanket: a thin little black chap, leaning up against a pillow in the dancing twilight of that lantern. His eyes were closed and his bony face was half hidden in the blue night-cap. His breath rustled and each puff from his hoarse throat, blowing out the thin flesh of his cheeks, escaped through a little opening on one side of his sunken lips, which each time opened and shut.

"Ooh! Ooh! Ooh!" cried Barbara.

"That's bad, that's bad," said Stanse and shook her head.

"His eyes are shut and yet he's not asleep!"

"Zeen! Zeen!" cried Mite and she pushed him back by his forehead to make him look up. "Zeen! Zeen! It's I; don't you know Mite?"

"Oof!" sighed Zeen; and his head dropped down again without his eyes opening.

"He's got the fever," said Barbara. "Just feel how his forehead's burning and he's as hot as fire."

(1) Edward.

THE END.

"Haven't you poulticed him?" asked Stanse. "He wants tices on his feet, mustard."

"We haven't any mustard and it's far to the village."

"Then he must have a bran bath, Zalia. Stanse, put on the kettle."

"Have you any bran, Zalia?"

"No, not ready; but there's maize."

"And a sieve?"

"Yes, there's a sieve."

"Hi, Warten, come and sift!"

Warten came in:

"Zeen, how are you, my boy? Oh, how thin he is! And his breath . . . it's spluttering; that's bad. He'll go off quickly, Barbara, it seems to me."

"Not to-night," said Treze.

"Warten, go to the loft, take the lamp and sift out a handful of maize; Zeen must have a bran bath at once."

Warten went up the stair. After a while, they heard above their heads the regular, jogging drag of the sieve over the boarded ceiling; and the fine meal-dust snowed down through the cracks, whirling round the lamp, and fell on Zeen's bed and on the women standing round.

Zeen nodded his head. They held a bowl of milk to his mouth; two little white streaks ran down from the corners of his mouth into his shirt-collar.

The sieve went on dragging. The women looked at Zeen, then at one another and then at the lantern. In the kitchen, the kettle sang drearily. . . .

Warten came from the loft with half a pailful of bran.

Barbara poured the steaming water on it and flung in a handful of salt.

They took the clothes off the bed and pulled his feet into the bran-water. Zeen groaned; he opened his eyes wide and looked round wildly at all those people.

He hung there for very long, with his black lean legs out of the bed and the bony knees and shrunk thighs in the insipid, sickly-smelling steam of the bran-water. Then they lifted him out and stuck his wet feet under the bed-clothes again; he did not stir and lay with the rattle in his throat.

"What a sad sick man," said Stanse, softly.

Mite wanted to give him some food, eggs: it might be faintness.

Treze wanted to bring him round with gin: her husband had once . . .

"Is there any, for the night?" asked Stanse.

"There's a whole bottle left, over there, in the cupboard."

Zeen opened his eyes—two green, glazed eyes, which no longer saw things—and wriggled his arms from under the clothes:

"Why don't you make the goat stop bleating?" he stammered.

"But."

Zeen looked at one another.

"Zalia, why won't you speak to me? . . . And what are all these people doing here? . . . I don't want any one to help me die! . . . I and Zalia . . . I and Zalia. . . Look, how beautiful! . . . Zalia, the procession's going up the wall there . . . why don't you look? . . . It's so beautiful! . . . And I . . . I'm the only ugly one there. . . ."

"He's wandering," whispered Treze.

"And what's that chap doing here, Zalia?"

"It's I, Zeen, I: Warten, the spectacle-man."

His eyes fell shut again and his cheeks again blew the breath through the little slit of his mouth. He rattled and the fever rose.

"It'll be to-night," said Treze.

"Where can Virginie be? She'll come too late."

"Virginie is better than three doctors, or a priest either," thought Mite.

"Zalia, I think I'd get out the candle."

Zalia went to the chest and got out the candle.

"Mother, I'm frightened," whined Fietje.

"You mustn't be frightened of dead people, child; you must get used to it."

"Have you any holy water, Zalia?"

"Oh, yes, Barbara: in the little stoup over the bed."

"And blessed palm?"

"Behind the crucifix."

There was a creaking in the kitchen and Virginie appeared past the loom, a little old woman huddled in her hooded cloak; in one hand she carried a little lantern and in the other a big prayer-book. She came quietly up to the bed, looked at Zeen for a long time, felt his pulse and then, looking up, said, very quietly:

"Zeen's going. . . . Has the priest been?"

"The priest? . . . It's so far and so late; and the poor soul's so old. . . ."

"What have you given him?"

"Haarlem oil, English salt. . . ."

"And we put his feet in bran-water."

Virginie stood thinking:

"Have you any linseed-meal?" she asked.

"No."

"Then . . . but it's too late now, anyway. . . ."

And she looked into the sick man's eyes again.

"He's very far gone . . ." thought Mite.

"Got worse quickly," said Barbara.

Zalia said nothing; she stood at the foot of the bed, looking at her husband and then at the women who were saying what they thought of him.

"Get the blessed candle; we must pray, good people," said

THE END.

Virginie and she put on her spectacles and went and stood her book under the light.

The women knelt on low chairs or on the floor. Warten stood with his elbows leaning on the rail of the bed, at Zeen's head. Treze took the blessed candle out of its paper covering and lit it at the lamp.

Zeen's chest rose and fell and his throat rattled painfully; his eyes stood gazing dimly at the rafters of the ceiling; his thin lips were pale and his face turned blue with the pain; he no longer looked like a living thing.

Virginie read very slowly, with a dismal, drawling voice, through her nose, while Treze held Zeen's weak fingers closed round the candle. It was still as death.

"May the Light of the World, Christ Jesus, Who is symbolised by this candle, brightly light thy eyes that thou mayest not depart this life in death everlasting. Our Father . . ."

They softly muttered this Our Father and it remained solemnly still, with only Warten's rough grunting and Zeen's painful breathing and the goat which kept ramming its head against the wall. And then, slower by degrees:

"Depart, O Christian soul, from this sorrowful world; go to meet thy dear Bridegroom, Christ Jesus, and carry a lighted candle in thy hands: He Who . . ."

Then Barbara, interrupting her, whispered:

"Look, Virginie, he's getting worse; the rattle's weaker; turn over, you'll be too late."

Treze was tired of holding Zeen's hand and the candle; she spilt a few drops of wax on the rail of the bed and stuck the candle on it.

Zeen jerked himself up, put his hands under the clothes and fumbled with them; then he lay still.

"He's packing up," whispered Barbara.

"He's going," thought one of the others.

Virginie dipped the palm-branch into the holy water and sprinkled the bed and the bystanders; then she read on:

"Go forth, O Christian soul, out of this world, in the name of God the Father Almighty, Who created thee; in the name of Jesus Christ, the Son of the living God, Who suffered for thee; in the name of the Holy Ghost, Who sanctified thee."

"Hurry, hurry, Virginie; he's almost stopped breathing!"

The cat jumped between Zalia and Treze on to the bed and went making dough with its front paws on the clothes; it looked surprised at all those people and purred softly. Warten drove it away with his cap.

"Receive, O Lord, Thy servant Zeen into the place of salvation which he hopes to obtain through Thy mercy."

"Amen," they all answered.

"But.

Zeen, I pray, O Lord, the soul of Thy servant from all danger of hell
 From all pain and tribulation."

Amen."

"Deliver, O Lord, the soul of Thy servant Zeen, as Thou
 deliveredst Enoch and Elias from the common death of the
 world."

"Amen."

"Deliver, O Lord, the soul of Thy servant Zeen, as Thou
 deliveredst . . ."

"I'm on fire! I'm on fire!" howled Warten. "My smock!
 My smock!"

And he jumped over all the chairs and rushed outside, with the
 others after him:

"Caught fire at the candle!" he cried, quite out of breath.

They put out the flames, pulled the smock over his head and
 poured water on his back, where his underclothes were smouldering.

"My smock, my smock!" he went on moaning. "Brand-new! It
 cost me six-and-forty stuivers!"

And he stood with his smock in his hands, looking at the huge
 holes and rents.

They made a great noise, all together, and their sharp voices rang
 out far and wide into the still night.

Virginie alone had remained by the bedside. She picked up the
 candle, lit it again and put it back on the bed-rail; and then she
 went on reading the prayers. When she saw that Zeen lay there
 so calmly and no longer breathed, she sprinkled him with holy-water
 for the last time and then went outside:

"People . . . he is with the Lord."

It was as if their fright had made them forget what was happening
 indoors; they rushed in, eager to know . . . and Zeen was dead.

"Stone dead," said Barbara.

"Hopped the twig!" said Warten.

"Quick! Hurry! The tobacco-seed will be tainted!" screamed
 Mite and she snatched down two or three linen bags which hung
 from the rafters and carried them outside.

First they moaned; then they tried to comfort one another,
 especially Zalia, who had dropped into a chair and turned very pale.

Then they set to work. Treze filled the little glasses; Barbara
 hung the water over the fire; and Warten, in his shirt-sleeves,
 stropped his razor to shave Zeen's beard off.

"And the children! The children who are not here!" moaned
 Zalia. "He ought to have seen the children!"

"First say the prayers," ordered Virginie.

All knelt down and, while Warten shaved the dead man, it went:

"Come to his assistance, all ye saints of God; meet him, all ye
 angels of God: receiving his soul, offering it in the sight of the
 Most High. . . ."

"To Thee, O Lord, we commend the soul of Thy servant, that,

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